IRELAND
Divided into PROVINCES & COUNTIES.

By Thos. Kitchin Geogr.

10 9 8 7 6

55 54 53 52 51

Lough Swilly · Ennistrahul · Giants Causey · Rathlin · Fair Hd · Tory I. · Hoar Hd · Portrush Is · Donluce Castle · Red Bay · Glanarm Bay · Greenc. · Red C. · Coleraine · Lough Foyle · Artikely · Clough Mills · White C. · Tullaghobegly · Lumnevady · Glanarm · N. Aran I. · LONDONDERRY · Kilrea · ANTRIM · Maidens · Magee I · Down · S. John Town · Irwin Ads C. · Rapho · Cumber · Larne · DONNEGAL · Moyah · Maghera · Conner · Antrim · Carrickfergus Bay · Lifford · Strabane · Toome · Curie · Fergus · C. Telling · Welches T. · Ardnore · Badonie · Munimore · Killallagh · Bangor · Newtown · Belfast · Castle Reagh · Lisburn · Derg R. · Rash · Orier · Loughneagh · Poe R. · Turmon · Montjoy · Omagh · TYRONE · Fearmont · Dungannon · Brinburgh · Lurgan · Moira · Hillsborough · Donnagal Bay · Ballyshannon · Augher · Charlemont · Tanragee · Skeoge · Down Patrick · Tully C. · Clabby · Cloghes · Trinl · Garrison · Glashlough · Tullimore · Killegh · Dunfine Hd · Slego Bay · Drumcliff · Drumhaw · Bellose · Rocky · C. Shane · Blackbank · Newry · Dundrum Bay · Ardrus · Tarrage · Killala · Mayo · C. Conner · Kilboony · Banboy · Belturbat · Clonish · C. Blany · Rostrevor · Donegle · Ennisco · Kilsherry · Belclare · Foxford · Ballagy · Boyle · Croghan · Carrick · Mobille · James town · Elphin · Kilkelly · Castlebar · Kintark · Ballyhaines · Tulsk · Ballinore · Ballintrosd · Curlogh · Donnamore · Tuam · Kilmaire · Ross · Clare Tuam · Kilyan · Knockmoy · Traquin · Claremore · Kilcomin · Athenny · Aghrim · Kilcolman · Toughreag · Kilcollyan · Portumner · Coolsin · Lough Derg · Drumcondy · Killianona · Inchaguin · Fullagh · Ennis · Clare · Burratty · Clonegad · Clonderlay · Abington · Adare · Pallace · Askeyton · Rathkea · New Castle · Ballingarry · Bruff · Tipperary · Cashel · Fethard · Knocktopher · Callen · Kell · Thomastown · Kilkenny · Gowran · Thules · Holy Cross · Ballingary · Desart · Kilmacoe · Feadens · Ballyporen · Dromrody · Duncannon · Clamines · Hire · Cathsfore Pt · Saltees · Waterford Harb. · Dungarvan B. · Hackets T. · Youghall · Youghall Bay · Cloyne · Ballycottin · Cork · Passage · Inchageely · Glany · Bandon Bridge · Kinsale · Old Head · Bantrye · Kilmare Riv. · Conkilty · Ross · Sabreen · Beer Hav. · Baltimore · Missen Hd · C. Clear I. · Valentia I. · Dunkeron · Killowen · Middle T. · Macroom · Aglish · Claragh · Glanrehan · Youghall · Ardmore · Dingle B. · Dingle · C. Main · C. Gregory · Killonglan · R. Lane · Killarny · Tralee B. · Trally · New Market · Donnerail · Malio · Fermoy · Rathcormuck · Tallagh · Dungarvan · Lismore · Shandon · Waterford · Tramore Bay · Mitchels T. · Ballihamult · Cullin · Graden · Tullow · Carlow · Ballyragget · Kilkenny · Thomastown · Callen · Knocktopher · Ross · Lambs T. · Taghmon · Wexford · Clamines · Hire · Catherlough · Tullow · Ballyragget · Kilkenny · Gowran · Thules · Holy Cross · Ballingary · Desart · Kilmacoe · Feadens · Ballyporen · Dromrody · Duncannon · Clamines · Hire · Cathsfore Pt · Saltees · Waterford Harb. · Dungarvan B. · Hackets T. · Youghall · Youghall Bay · Cloyne · Ballycottin · Cork · Passage · Inchageely · Glany · Bandon Bridge · Kinsale · Old Head · Bantrye · Kilmare Riv. · Conkilty · Ross · Sabreen · Beer Hav. · Baltimore · Missen Hd · C. Clear I. · Valentia I. · Dunkeron · Killowen · Middle T. · Macroom · Aglish · Claragh · Glanrehan · Youghall · Ardmore · Dingle B. · Dingle · C. Main · C. Gregory · Killonglan · R. Lane · Killarny · Tralee B. · Trally · New Market · Donnerail · Malio · Fermoy · Rathcormuck · Tallagh · Dungarvan · Lismore · Shandon · Waterford · Tramore Bay · Mitchels T. · Ballihamult · Cullin · Graden · Tullow · Carlow · Ballyragget · Kilkenny · Thomastown · Callen · Knocktopher · Ross · Lambs T. · Taghmon · Wexford

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6
Rathlin
Giants Causey
Fair Hd
Taghmor
Dunbrody
Clamines
Hire
Cahore Pt
Saltees
Waterford Harb.
52
CHANNEL
Irish Miles.
5 15 25 35
British Statute Miles.
5 15 25 35 45
51
7

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE

DISSOLUTION of the Preſent PARLIAMENT,

ADORNED WITH PLATES.

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH COLLYER,
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,
in Two Volumes Folio.

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WILLIAM II.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

WILLIAM, after the death of Lanfranc, retained in his own hands, for ſeveral years, the revenues of Canterbury, and of many other vacant biſhoprics; but being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, he was filled with remorſe; and the clergy repreſenting to him, that he was in danger of eternal perdition, if he did not atone for the multiplied impieties and ſacrileges he had committed, he reſolved to ſupply the vacancy of Canterbury; and for that purpoſe, ſent for Anſelm, abbot of Bec, in Normandy, who was greatly celebrated for his learning and piety. The abbot ſteadily refuſed the dignity, fell on his knees, wept, and entreated the king

to chuſe ſome other perſon; and on his finding the king obſtinate in forcing him to receive the paſtoral ſtaff, kept his fiſt ſo faſt clenched, that it required the utmoſt violence of the by-ſtanders to open it, and force him to receive that enſign of ſpiritual dignity. William ſoon after recovered, and his paſſions being then in their uſual vigour, he returned to his former violence and rapine. Several perſons whom he had ordered to be ſet free during the time of his ſickneſs, he detained in priſon; he ſtill made a prey of the eccleſiaſtical benefices, and his ſale of ſpiritual dignities continued as open as ever.

Anſelm oppoſed all abuſes with great zeal, and even thoſe in dreſs and ornament. In that age, there was a faſhion which prevailed throughout Europe, both among men and women, in giving an enormous length to their ſhoes, the toe of which turned up high to a ſharp point, to which was affixed the figure of a bird's bill, or ſome ſuch ornament, which was frequently ſuſtained by gold or ſilver chains tied to the knee. The eccleſiaſtics took exception at this ridiculous faſhion, againſt which they not only declaimed with great vehemence, but aſſembled ſome ſynods, in which it was expreſsly condemned. Yet, though the clergy had ſuch influence as to ſend above a million of men into the deſerts of Aſia, the people were, in this particular, ſo obſtinate, that they could not prevail againſt theſe long pointed, aukward ſhoes. On the contrary, this faſhion maintained its ground during ſeveral centuries; and

if

if the clergy had not at laſt deſiſted from their proſecutions of this idle foppery, it might ſtill have prevailed.

Anſelm was more ſucceſsful in decrying the long hair and curled locks, which were then faſhionable among the courtiers, and was ſo much the object of his averſion, that he refuſed the aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, to thoſe who were ſo adorned; and here his authority and eloquence had ſuch influence, that the young men univerſally abandoned that ornament, and appeared in the cropped hair recommended by that primate in his ſermons.

Though Anſelm had been forced, by violent meaſures, to accept of the ſee of Canterbury, he met with a continual oppoſition from the king. There was then a ſchiſm in the church between Urban and Clement, both of whom laid claim to the papal chair; and Anſelm, who had been abbot of Bec, had already acknowledged the former, and reſolved to perſiſt in it, though William prohibited his ſubjects from recognizing any pope which he himſelf had not received. Great diſputes alſo aroſe on his perſiſting in leaving the kingdom, in order to go to Rome to receive the pall from pope Urban, the king abſolutely refuſing to let him leave the kingdom. This conteſt was carried to a great length. At laſt William diſpatched agents to Rome, with ſecret inſtructions to treat with Urban, offering to acknowledge that pontiff as duly elected, if he would ſend over to him the archbiſhop's pall, and let him diſpoſe of it as he ſhould think proper. Urban

was pleaſed with this meſſage, and immediately ſent the pall by the biſhop of Albano, who brought it to William, without Anſelm's knowledge, and promiſed that monarch, in the name of the pope, a full confirmation of all the prerogatives and rights of his crown, by the papal authority, if he would acknowledge and obey him, as ſovereign pontiff. William, who perceived that his people and clergy were generally diſpoſed in favour of Urban, accepted theſe offers, and tried to prevail on the biſhop of Albano, to concur with him as legate, in the depoſing of Anſelm, offering a great annual ſum of money, both to that prelate and to Urban, if they would gratify his deſires in this reſpect; but the biſhop convinced him of the impracticability of what he demanded; and the king finding no hopes in getting him depoſed, endeavoured to find ſome means of compounding their quarrel to his own advantage. Anſelm was told, that Urban had ſent the pall to the king, and that it was reaſonable he ſhould at leaſt pay as much to that prince, as it would have coſt him in going to Rome to fetch it. Anſelm was greatly ſurprized at this information; yet, though he ſaw that the courts of England and Rome were better agreed than he had wiſhed, and that the latter had not treated him in this affair with the regard he deſerved, he perſevered in refuſing to give the king any money, though urged to it by all his brethren. At laſt, William deſpairing of ſelling him the pall, conſented to give it him. But Anſelm conceiving,

that

that to take it from his hands, would be a kind of acknowledgment of his having received it, not from the papal, but regal authority, refuſed accepting it. But after ſome altercation upon this delicate ſcruple of conſcience, in which the archbiſhop's zeal for the papacy exceeded that of the pope himſelf, it was at length ended by a very ſingular expedient: The pall was laid on the high altar of Canterbury, and Anſelm took it from thence, as from the hands of St. Peter.

Anſelm was now perſuaded to give his faith to the king, and to promiſe to obey and maintain the royal cuſtoms and laws of the realm; but the king returning from a war againſt the Welch, complained, that the men whom the archbiſhop had provided for that expedition, were neither ſo well accoutered, nor ſo fit for the ſervice, as they ought to have been, ſummoned him to anſwer that charge in his court. Anſelm was determined not to obey; but applied to ſome of the chief nobles, and by them acquainted the king, that being compelled by the moſt urgent neceſſity, he deſired leave to go to Rome. The king ſent back a denial. Nevertheleſs, that prelate renewed his petition again and again, though the charge againſt him was dropped, till at laſt William growing impatient, ſent him word, that if he did go to Rome, he would ſeize his temporalities, and acknowledge him no longer for his archbiſhop; notwithſtanding which, he ſtill perſiſted, and at length ſet out with the ſcrip and ſtaff of a pilgrim; and William, on hearing that he had

paſſed

paſſed the ſea, ordered all his goods and revenues to be brought into the exchequer.

The ceſſion of Normandy and Maine by duke Robert, brought the king no great encreaſe of power, on account of the unſettled ſtate of thoſe countries, and the mutinous diſpoſition of the barons, who were ſupported by the French king, in all their inſurrections. Helie, lord of La Fleſche, a ſmall town in Anjou, gave the king inquietude, and that great monarch was obliged to make ſeveral expeditions abroad, without being able to quell that petty baron, who had acquired the affections of the inhabitants of Maine. At laſt, however, he was ſo fortunate, as to take him priſoner in a rencounter; but having, at the interceſſion of the French king, and the court of Anjou, releaſed him, the province of Maine ſtill continued expoſed to his intrigues and incurſions; and being introduced by the citizens into the town of Mans, he beſieged the citadel. William was hunting in the New Foreſt when he received intelligence of this hoſtile attempt, and was ſo provoked, that he immediately turned about his horſe, and gallopped to the ſea ſhore at Dartmouth, declaring, that he would not ſtop a moment till he had taken vengeance for the inſult. The weather was ſo tempeſtuous, that the mariners thought it dangerous to put to ſea, but the king ruſhing on board, ordered them to ſet ſail inſtantly; and thus, by his celerity and vigour, he delivered the citadel of Mans, and purſuing Helie into his own territories, laid ſiege to Majol, a ſmall caſtle; but

but receiving a wound before that place, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and return to England.

About this time William, the Eighth duke of Aquitaine, who went to the holy wars four years after Robert, and wanted money no leſs than he, treated with William Rufus to obtain a ſupply upon the ſame conditions, that is, by mortgaging his dutchy to him. The agreement was made, and the king would have been ſoon in poſſeſſion of Aquitaine, as well as Normandy, if in the midſt of his projects, and while his heart was ſwelled with the greateſt exceſs of arrogance and preſumption, a ſudden and violent death had not rendered him an example to mankind of the vanity of ambition.

The manner of his death is not abſolutely certain. The received opinion is, that as he was hunting in the New Foreſt with Sir Walter Tyrrel, a French knight of Pontois, remarkable for his addreſs in archery, attended him in this recreation; and as William had diſmounted after the chaſe, Tyrrel, impatient to ſhew his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a ſtag which ſuddenly ſtarted before him; when the arrow glancing from a tree, ſtruck the king in the breaſt, and pierced his heart. But Eadmer, a contemporary writer, informs us, it was the more general belief of thoſe times, that he accidentally ſtumbled with an arrow in his hand, and falling upon it, drove the point through his own breaſt. The wood of the arrow was broken down to the place where it entered the fleſh, probably by his own hand, in endeavouring to draw it out; but the iron point remained

mained deeply fixed in his breaſt. Some colliers, who happened then to paſs through the foreſt, ſaw the corpſe of their dead ſovereign, and put it ſtill bleeding in a cart they had with them, in which they brought it to Wincheſter, where it was haſtily buried the next day, without any royal pomp, or even a decent attendance.

William was killed in the year 1100, the thirteenth of his reign, and about the fortieth of his age. As he was never married, he left no legitimate iſſue. It was remarked in that age, that Richard, an elder brother of William, periſhed by an accident in the ſame foreſt; and that Richard his nephew, the natural ſon of duke Robert, loſt his life in the ſame place; whence all men, upon hearing of the king's fate, exclaimed, that, as William the Firſt had been guilty of extreme cruelty in expelling the inhabitants of that large extent of country, to make room for his game, the juſt vengeance of heaven appeared in the ſame place, by the ſlaughter of his poſterity.

The character of this king, ſays lord Lyttelton *, has been too much depreciated by many hiſtorians. It was, no doubt, very faulty; yet, notwithſtanding all his faults, he was a great man. In magnanimity, the firſt of royal virtues, no prince ever excelled, and few have equalled him. We have already given one inſtance, in his behaviour on being unhorſed by a

* See that nobleman's Hiſtory of Henry II. from which the following character of William Rufus is borrowed.

ſoldier,

ſoldier, when beſieging Mont St. Michael. But the anſwer he made to a bravado of the earl of la Fleſche is a ſtill nobler inſtance of his magnanimity. That lord, his competitor for the earldom of Maine, being taken priſoner by him, and received with an inſult, ſaid, with a ſpirit ſuperior to fortune, "An accident has "made me your captive; but could I recover "my liberty, I know what I ſhould do."—"You know what you ſhould do," replied the king: "Begone; I give you leave to do your "utmoſt; and I ſwear to you, that if you "overcome me hereafter, I will aſk no return "from you for thus having ſet you free." With theſe words he diſmiſſed him: an action of heroiſm that would have done honour to Cæſar, whoſe ſoul (ſays one of the beſt of our ancient authors) ſeems to have tranſmigrated into this monarch. He likewiſe acted and ſpoke in the ſpirit of that Roman, when, from his ardor to relieve the city of Mans, beſieged by the earl of la Fleſche, he paſſed the ſea in a violent tempeſt, ſaying to the ſailors who warned him of the danger, that he never had heard of any king having been drowned. Nor did he leſs reſemble Cæſar in liberality, than in courage, and greatneſs of mind. He gave without meaſure, but never without choice; diſtinguiſhing merit, and fixing it in his ſervice by means of his bounty; that merit eſpecially which was the moſt neceſſary to ſupport his ambition, eminent valour and military talents. In the magnificence of his court and buildings he greatly exceeded any king of that age. But, though

though his profuſeneſs aroſe from a noble and generous nature, it muſt be accounted rather a vice than a virtue; as, in order to ſupply its unbounded extent, he was very rapacious. If he had lived long, his expences would have undone him; for he had not, as Cæſar had, the treaſures of the world to ſupport his extravagance; and it had brought him ſome years before his death into ſuch difficulties, that even, if his temper had not been deſpotic, his neceſſities would have made him a tyrant.

His ſoul was all fire, perpetually in action, undaunted with danger, unwearied with application, purſuing pleaſure with as much ardour as buſineſs, but never ſacrificing buſineſs to pleaſure; addicted to women, yet without any tenderneſs or fixed attachment, rather from a ſpirit of debauchery, than from the paſſion of love. He had many *concubines*, but no *miſtreſs*; and never would marry, for fear of ſubjecting himſelf to any reſtraint.

Nevertheleſs, the vivacity of his temper and the quickneſs of his parts were balanced by the ſolidity and the ſtrength of his judgment: ſo that, although he was very eager in all his purſuits, he directed them with great prudence, excelling ſtill more in policy than in arms. He had not indeed any tincture of learning; but he had ſtudied mankind, and knew them well under all diſguiſes. When he had the power to enforce obedience, he was imperious and abſolute, ſo as to endure no contradiction or ſtop to his will; but was pliant and ſoothing, when he wanted that power; in public maintaining

his

his majeſty, not only with ſtate, but with pride; yet in private, among his friends, and thoſe whom he admitted to a familiarity with him, was eaſy, good-humoured, and witty.

His perſon was diſagreeable, and his elocution ungraceful; notwithſtanding which imperfections he carried all points he had at heart, more by the arts of inſinuation and addreſs than by force.

Conſidering how much he owed to the clergy in obtaining his crown, it is no little proof of uncommon abilities, that he wore it without any dependance upon them, and entirely ſubjected their power to his own. But, not content to govern the church, he tyrannized over it, as he did over the ſtate: nor would he conſtrain himſelf to that outward ſhew of reverence for eccleſiaſtics, which his father had always paid to them, even while he oppreſſed them: and this was certainly one principal cauſe, why the monks, who have tranſmitted his character to us, accuſe him ſo heavily of being irreligious. That all the ſtrange ſtories, related by thoſe hiſtorians of his open impiety, are ſtrictly true, it is hard to believe; becauſe one would imagine, that his good ſenſe alone would have taught him ſome reſpect for the forms of religion, in an age which demanded that, and demanded no more. Yet, though the charge may have been aggravated, it was not wholly groundleſs. His mind was too penetrating not to ſee the depravity of what was then called religion, and his heart was too corrupt to ſeek for a better. We are told, indeed, that, in a

dangerous fit of ſickneſs, he expreſſed remorſe for the offences of his paſt life, and promiſed amendment; which ſhews at leaſt, that he had in him no ſettled principle of abſolute infidelity: but he had not any ſuch ſteady ſentiments of faith or piety, as could be a reſtraint on his paſſions. So that the impreſſions made in his illneſs were ſoon obliterated by the return of his health. There was alſo a levity and petulance in his wit, which often gave his converſation an air of profaneneſs beyond what he ſeriouſly thought or meant. He paid ſo little reſpect to the oaths he had taken, that he ſeemed to conſider them as mere forms of ſtate, or arts which policy might employ, and diſpenſe with, at pleaſure. All his vices were public, and he did infinitely more harm by the bad example he gave, and the indulgence he ſhewed to the enormities of others, than by his own. He not only tolerated but encouraged in his court, and (what was yet worſe) in his army, the moſt unbridled profligacy of manners; relaxing all diſcipline, civil or military; and hardly puniſhing any crimes, but rebellions and treaſons againſt himſelf, or the breach of the foreſt laws, which had been made by his father, and of which he had ſolemnly promiſed a remiſſion to his ſubjects. Theſe he enforced with a cruel rigour; but other offences were either winked at, or the offender bought off the puniſhment. So that the miſery of England was compleat in this reign: for the nation was now a prey to licentiouſneſs, as much as to tyranny, ſuffering at once the diſorders of anarchy and the oppreſſions of arbitrary

bitrary power. The army of William the Firſt had been under the curb of a ſtrict diſcipline; but that of William Rufus, like a wild beaſt unchained, was let looſe to infeſt his peaceful ſubjects. The young nobility were bred up in debauchery; luxurious, effeminate, and guilty even of luſts which nature abhors; deſpiſers of order, law, morality, and no leſs proud of their vices than of their birth. But happily the life of this prince was too ſhort to extend the corruption to the body of the people; and therefore the commonwealth recovered again, when the ſucceeding monarch applied to it ſuch remedies of wholeſome ſeverity, as the diſtempers contracted by it required.

CHAP. III.

HENRY I.

A Review of Henry's Life; his Acceſſion to the Throne; the Motives of the Preference of him to Robert, and his Charter. Robert's Invaſion and Accommodation with the King. Henry obtains the Poſſeſſion of Normandy. The Rebellions and Wars in that Duchy. The Death of Prince William. The King's ſecond Marriage, his Death, and Character.

AT the death of William Rufus, his brother Robert would probably have aſcended the throne of England without oppoſition, had he been preſent to take advantage of his brother's death. He was at that time on his return from Jeruſalem, in the conqueſt of which he had performed ſome great actions, and gained a reputation for valour and conduct, equal, if not ſuperior, to that of any of the princes aſſociated with him. As he was returning home, he ſtopped in Apulia, where he married Sibylla, the daughter of the earl of Converſana, and the moſt celebrated beauty in Europe, who brought him for her portion a great ſum of money, with which he propoſed to redeem his duchy of Normandy, mortgaged to William Rufus.

Prince Henry had received in his youth ſuch a tincture of learning, that he got the name of Beauclerc, or the Scholar, a very extraordinary title

HENRY I.

title in that ignorant age, for any layman, much more for the ſon of a great king. He had alſo ſtill more valuable endowments; great natural ſtrength and ſoundneſs of mind, a cool head, a firm heart, activity, ſteadineſs, a knowledge of buſineſs, of war, and of mankind. After his father's death, he had been treated ill by both his brothers, who had robbed him of his patrimony, and yet, ſometimes, made uſe of his aſſiſtance, which he frankly gave. After the ſiege of St. Michael, where he had made a brave reſiſtance, which raiſed his reputation, and his being obliged to ſurrender it upon no better conditions than ſafety and freedom to himſelf and his garriſon, he took refuge in Britanny, and then in the French Vexin, where having remained about a year, he again thought it neceſſary to change his abode, and wandered over the provinces of France, with no other attendants but one knight, a chaplain, and three eſquires; expoſed to all the hardſhips of want, and learning, in adverſity, patience and fortitude, virtues which he could not ſo perfectly have acquired, had he been always nurſed up in the favours of fortune. But, while he was oppreſſed by his brothers, and reduced to a ſtate ſo much below his birth and merit, the citizens of Dumfront, incenſed againſt their lord, Robert de Beleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, who had tyrannized over them, and convinced that they could obtain no redreſs from duke Robert, expelled the earl, and offered their town, one of the ſtrongeſt in Normandy, to the exiled prince.

He accepted their offer, and, with their aſſiſtance, for ſome time made a ſucceſsful war againſt both his brothers: but, when the duke aſſumed the croſs, a reconciliation took place between William and Henry; after which they went to England.

Henry was happily in another part of the foreſt, when his brother was killed; and the news being brought to him, he loſt not a moment; but, taking advantage of Robert's abſence, laid claim to the crown; and riding directly to Wincheſter caſtle, where the regalia were kept, demanded the keys. William de Breteuil, to whoſe cuſtody the late king had entruſted the caſtle and royal treaſure, oppoſed his pretenſions, reminded him that Robert was his elder brother, and that he ought to preſerve his fidelity to him. The diſpute growing warm, and many of the barons and people gathering about them, Henry drew his ſword; upon which the chief counſellors of the late king, particularly the two earls of Warwick and Meulant, men of the greateſt authority in the nation, interpoſed, and prevailed on Breteuil to ſubmit. Henry, having carried this point, and his brother's corpſe being interred the next day, haſtened to London, where he was elected king of England by the great council, and was crowned in Weſtminſter abby on the following Sunday, the fifteenth of Auguſt, in the year 1100.

The ſudden and ready conſent both of the Normans and Engliſh to this revolution, by which Robert was again excluded from the Engliſh throne, at a time when the glory he had

had gained in the holy war was freſh in every one's mind, appears ſomewhat ſurprizing. Henry had formed no faction; his brother's treaſures could not go far in purchaſing him friends, as that king was too profuſe to have much in ſtore; nor was he ever charged with owing his election to bribes. But thoſe who had been warmeſt in ſupporting William Rufus againſt Robert in England, had reaſon to apprehend the reſentment of the latter; and the manner in which he had governed Normandy was a ſtrong preſumption of his unfitneſs to govern England. On the other hand, Henry had ſhewn great talents for government, and ſome ſtreſs was laid on his being born in England, after his father was king. He ſaw, that the ſureſt method to obtain the favour of the nation, would be to grant them ſuch national benefits as would make his intereſt that of the public. Their ſubmiſſion to the tyranny of the two firſt Norman kings had been owing to circumſtances of a tranſient nature; but they ſtill retained a paſſion for liberty, equally natural to the Normans and Engliſh. On the preſent occaſion, their mutual diſtruſt and fear of each other, which had prevented their uniting in defence of their privileges, gave way to a ſtrong and equal deſire in both of reducing the royal authority to ſuch limitations, as, without deſtroying the feudal ſyſtem eſtabliſhed in England by William the Firſt, might alleviate the heavy burthens with which it was loaded. So ſtrong was this deſire, that neither the elderſhip of the duke of Normandy, which, though it

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did not in thoſe days convey an *abſolute right* to the crown, was yet a *powerful recommendation*; nor a ſolemn treaty made with him, and confirmed by the barons, which had ſettled the crown upon him, could ſtand in competition with Henry's offering to aboliſh all the evil cuſtoms that had prevailed in the late reign, and to eſtabliſh the beſt laws that had ever been given under any of the kings his predeceſſors. Hence the nation reſolved to give the crown to a prince who ſhould acquire and hold it under no other claim than a compact with his people. To give that liberty a more ſolid and laſting eſtabliſhment, they demanded a charter, which Henry granted them ſoon after his coronation, as he had ſworn to do before he was crowned. By this he reſtored the Saxon laws which were in uſe under Edward the Confeſſor, with ſuch alterations as had been made in them by his father, by the conſent of parliament; at the ſame time annulling all the evil cuſtoms and illegal exactions by which the realm had been unjuſtly oppreſſed.

From the obtaining of this charter muſt be dated the union of the Normans with the Engliſh, whoſe intereſts blended in it were, for the future, inſeparably united under one common claim of national rights. Henry's conduct entirely correſponded with his engagements. He freed his ſubjects from all the burthens that had been illegally impoſed on them; he remitted all the debts that were due to the crown, and puniſhed all thoſe who had made themſelves odious by an abuſe of their power, particularly

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Ralph Flambard, juſticiary of England, and biſhop of Durham: and at the ſame time, by the advice of his parliament, recalled Anſelm, and ſet him at the head of the miniſtry.

Henry was, however, far from intending to purchaſe the archbiſhop's friendſhip, by giving up the rights of his crown. He knew how to diſtinguiſh between thoſe abuſes, of which the clergy had juſtly complained under his brother's government, and the due exerciſe of the royal authority: he redreſſed the former, by immediately filling up, without the ſuſpicion of ſimony, the ſeveral ſees that were vacant at his acceſſion to the throne, as well as by freeing the church from all arbitrary and oppreſſive exactions: but exerted his authority on many occaſions, with great ſpirit and firmneſs, and was conſtantly ſupported in it by his parliament, with the concurrence of the Engliſh biſhops themſelves. He alſo gave the city of London a charter, by which he confirmed the benefits granted by his father, with ſome very conſiderable additional favours. To crown the whole, he married Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm the Third, king of Scotland, by the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling: a match that reſtored the crown to the Saxon royal blood, and united the king and his family after him to the people of England, by the moſt natural and pleaſing tie.

Though Henry thus took every method that wiſdom could dictate, to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne he had aſcended, he was ſoon in great danger of being expelled from it, by moſt

moſt of the Norman barons in England, upon the return of Robert from the eaſt, who arrived there about a month after Henry was crowned, and took poſſeſſion of that dutchy without oppoſition. The Normans in England, who had fiefs under Robert, apprehending the loſs of them for what they had done againſt him, began to repent of their conduct; and being poſſeſſed of great power, had ſuch influence, as to prevail on moſt of their countrymen, to take part with Robert. But the Engliſh, who were attached to Henry, both by his marriage, by his charters, and having no eſtates abroad to forfeit, adhered to him firmly; and the whole clergy were fixed to his ſide, by the mediation of Anſelm. That prelate, whoſe affections he had perfectly gained, by recalling him from his exile, and promiſing to govern the church by his counſels, ſerved him with a zeal that bore down all oppoſition. Many barons who had left him, were brought back again; the wavering were ſtopped, and Robert's moſt determined adherents were intimidated by the reſolution of the Engliſh, a great army of whom ſupported Henry in this quarrel. That prelate even rode through the ranks of the army, recommended to the ſoldiers the defence of their prince, and denounced the heavieſt cenſures of the church againſt any who ſhould continue to oppoſe the king, in whoſe title he ſaw no defect; and prognoſticated to them the greateſt happineſs from the government of ſo wiſe and juſt a ſovereign. Thus was the army retained in the king's intereſt,

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and marched with firmneſs to oppoſe Robert, who had landed with his forces at Portſmouth.

The two armies lay for ſome days in ſight of each other, when an accommodation was produced, by means of Anſelm, in which Robert yielded up his pretenſions to the crown, for the annual penſion of three thouſand marks, which he gave up the next year to Henry's queen; and the towns which that king poſſeſſed in Normandy, except only Dumfront, which Henry would not relinquiſh, alledging, that he had given his word to the citizens never to part with it, nor ſuffer their laws to be changed. The ſame ſtipulation was renewed in this treaty, as had been made in the former between William and Henry, that if either he or his brother ſhould die without leaving a lawful heir, the ſurvivor ſhould have a right of ſucceſſion to all the dominions of both; and this convention was ſworn to as the former had been, by twelve of the principal barons of each party. Archbiſhop Anſelm alſo engaged himſelf as ſurety for Henry, that he ſhould govern according to his charter. It was alſo agreed between the two princes, that all honours and lands confiſcated, either in England or Normandy, on account of this war, ſhould be reciprocally reſtored to their former poſſeſſors.

Thus advantageouſly did Henry ſecure to himſelf the crown he had gained; but not long after, feeling his ſtrength, he ventured to proſecute and puniſh, by fines, confiſcations, or baniſhments, all the moſt active and powerful nobles, who had engaged in Robert's invaſion.

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But this he did at different times, and under the colour of other offences, that he might not appear to infringe the indemnity he had granted. It was however well underſtood, and the terror it produced, prevented his ſubjects from conſpiring any more, in behalf of his brother, who, from the weakneſs of his conduct in this attempt, and the ſubſequent ruin of moſt of his friends, became deſpicable to the whole nation. Almoſt all the barons Henry thus puniſhed, were of the firſt rank in wealth and power, whoſe immenſe eſtates he divided among many perſons of lower birth, but good parts, who had zealouſly attached themſelves to his ſervice; by raiſing whom, he balanced the greatneſs of the nobility eſtabliſhed by his father, which was an object of jealouſy to the crown.

Another grand ſupport of his government, was the ſtrictneſs with which he cauſed juſtice to be adminiſtred. He made war upon vice, and thought the ſubduing of it within his realm, as far as the fear of puniſhment can ſubdue it, the nobleſt triumph a king could ever obtain.

The conduct of Robert duke of Normandy was, in every reſpect, the reverſe of that of his brother. He exhauſted all the wealth of that opulent dutchy in bounties and grants, rather to impudence than to merit; and not only gave his greedy courtiers and paraſites all they aſked, but allowed them to take whatever they pleaſed, both from himſelf and his people. He ſo eaſily pardoned the worſt offenders, that under

under his government the guilty were always ſafe, the innocent never. His indolence, his being perpetually immerſed in ſloth or riot, the factions his weakneſs encouraged, and the continual depredations of rebels and free-booters, who neither feared the prince nor the laws, induced many of the nobles, and the body of the clergy, to ſollicit the protection of the king of England. Robert, indeed, was become unfit to govern; yet it ſeemed hard and unnatural, that his own younger brother, to whom he before had ceded the crown of England, ſhould now, upon any pretence whatſoever, deprive him of the government of Normandy. Henry himſelf could not do it, without feeling ſome compunction. But he had a ſermon of a Norman biſhop, and the exhortations of the pope, to quiet his ſcruples: nor did he find any difficulty in obtaining the concurrence of the Engliſh parliament: the moſt powerful barons being always deſirous, from private intereſt, to unite the two countries under the ſame maſter. The remembrance how ill he had been uſed by the duke, in former times, the impriſonment, the exile, the indignities he had ſuffered, might alſo ſteel his heart againſt any ſentiments of affection or compaſſion towards that prince.

Following therefore the dictates of his ambition, he went with an army into Normandy in 1105, and after an obſtinate ſiege, took Baieux by ſtorm, and made himſelf maſter of Caen, by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants: but being repulſed at Falaiſe, and obliged, by the winter ſeaſon, to raiſe the ſiege,

he returned into England, after aſſuring his adherents, that he would perſevere in labouring for their protection. Accordingly the next year he returned and laid ſiege to Trenchebray.

Robert, at laſt rouzed from his lethargy, was joined by the earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Belleſme, the king's inveterate enemies, and raiſing a conſiderable army, approached his brother's camp, in order to finiſh their quarrel by one deciſive battle; and animated his troops by his example with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Engliſh were thrown into confuſion; but when he had nearly obtained the victory, the flight of Belleſme ſpread a pannic among the Normans, and occaſioned their being entirely defeated. Henry made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, and took near 10,000 priſoners, among whom was duke Robert himſelf, with the moſt conſiderable barons that adhered to his intereſt.

This victory was followed by the entire reduction of Normandy: Rouen inſtantly ſubmitted to the conqueror: Falaiſe, after ſome negociations, opened its gates, and Henry, by this acquiſition, not only rendered himſelf maſter of that important fortreſs, but got into his hands prince William, Robert's only ſon. He immediately aſſembled the ſtates of Normandy, and having received the homage of the vaſſals of the dutchy, ſettled the government, and diſmantled the caſtles which had been lately built, returned to England, taking with him the duke, as his priſoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in cuſtody during the remainder

remainder of his life, which was no leſs than twenty-ſeven years. Before this misfortune, he had loſt all the reputation he had obtained in the eaſt, and ſerved as a proof, that neither the moſt heroic valour, nor the beſt heart, can ſave that prince from ruin, who pardons every thing, and refuſes nothing. Henry made his impriſonment as eaſy to him as poſſible, by providing him with an elegant table, and buffoons for his diverſion; pleaſures which he had for ſome years preferred to all the duties of a ſovereign. At length Robert died in Cardiff caſtle, in Glamorganſhire. His ſon, prince William, was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter; and being a man of diſtinguiſhed probity and honour, diſcharged the truſt with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jeruſalem, and had lived with him in Normandy ever ſince, was another illuſtrious priſoner taken in this battle. Henry gave him his liberty, and ſettled on him a ſmall penſion, on which he lived in England totally neglected and forgotten.

The inhabitants of Normandy received the greateſt advantage from this change. The new duke, with the concurrence of the Norman legiſlature, confirmed his father's laws, reſumed all his brother's extravagant grants, which had involved the ſtate in want, and promiſed to ſuppreſs, among all the orders and degrees of his ſubjects, that rapine and violence which the relaxation of the reigns of government, in the

hands of Robert, had produced. Theſe engagements were ſtrictly fulfilled. The higheſt rank could not protect, nor could any ſupplications or intereſt ſave the principal authors of the former outrages in that dutchy. The very dread of Henry's juſtice, induced many of them to ſeek refuge in exile, from which they never returned; and ſome of thoſe whom he had made his priſoners, he confined for their lives, though their families and friends offered him great ſums to purchaſe their freedom: for, notwithſtanding the bent of his nature was to avarice, he had too much underſtanding to barter away the authority of his government, and the ſafety of his people.

Henry gratified his ambition by the acquiſition of Normandy, which was the ancient patrimony of his family; but in order to maintain the poſſeſſion of it, he loaded his Engliſh ſubjects with continual taxes, almoſt beyond what they could bear, and much beyond what they would have borne, if the great intereſt of his nobles to keep that dutchy annexed to this kingdom, had not engaged them to give him a ſtrong ſupport. He had, however, the art of accompanying demands of this nature with kind words, very flattering to the pride of the nation, and with gracious and popular acts. Thus, while the people were oppreſſed with theſe burthens, he ſoftened their ſenſe of them, by reſtraining the abuſe of purveyance, which had been inſupportable in his brother's reign; many who attended the court in its journies, not only taking the neceſſary proviſions, which

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the tenants, who held the demeſne lands of the crown, were required to furniſh, but committing great waſte, and even inſulting their hoſts with riots and outrages. To put a ſtop to this grievance, he cauſed a law to be enacted, which fixed the quantity they ſhould take, and the price they ſhould pay for it; and inflicted rigorous penalties, in ſome caſes death itſelf, on any future offenders. By theſe marks of a paternal regard and affection, as well as by the juſtice he did the commons againſt their lords, whenever they applied to him for relief or redreſs, he turned the complaints of the ſeverity uſed in collecting the taxes from himſelf on his miniſters, by whom they were raiſed. As the general courſe of his government was popular at home and glorious abroad, the faults, which his prudence moderated, and his policy veiled, were never productive of any conſiderable diſcontent in the people. Whence, from the ſecond year of his reign, in which he expelled the moſt turbulent of the barons, to the day of his death, that is, for the ſpace of above thirty-three years, there was no revolt, nor the leaſt commotion in England: a length of tranquillity, ſays lord Lyttelton, ſcarce to be paralleled in the hiſtory of this kingdom, and more extraordinary then, conſidering how very factious and prone to ſedition, the temper of the barons appeared to be, in the beginning of this, and through all the following reigns.

Henry, however, did not enjoy an equal calm abroad. Such, in thoſe days, was the internal ſtate of France, from the greatneſs of

the fiefs, into which it was parcelled out, that the ſovereign, and ſome of his vaſſals, were always at variance, or the vaſſals with each other; and their diſputes were decided, not by the laws, but by the ſword. The king of England, as duke of Normandy, was often engaged in theſe broils; but to the diſquiet they cauſed, was added a far more dangerous quarrel, ariſing from the ſupport given by the king of France and ſeveral of his barons, to the pretenſions of William Clito, alſo called William Longſword, duke Robert's only ſon.

After the defeat and captivity of Robert, that prince, who was then an infant, was delivered to his uncle Henry, who treated him with all poſſible kindneſs; but fearing, that if any ill accident ſhould befall him, it might draw on himſelf an odious ſuſpicion, he committed him, as we have already obſerved, to the care of Helie de St. Saen. Yet about two years after, thought it neceſſary, either upon ſome information received, or from the apprehenſions of danger to his government, by his nephew's being longer out of his power, to ſend Robert de Beauchamp with a party of horſe to bring him away from the caſtle of St. Saen. Helie was then abſent; but ſome of his family taking the alarm, took the young prince out of his bed in the night, and conveyed him in ſafety to their lord, who took him to the courts of Guienne, Burgundy, Britanny, and France, raiſing compaſſion and kindneſs in the hearts of all the princes to whom they went, while he formed a party for him, by more ſe-

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cret intrigues among the Norman barons. He alſo procured him the friendſhip of Fulk the Fifth, earl of Anjou, one of the braveſt and moſt prudent men of that age, whoſe territories, bordering on Normandy, made him able to ſupport a faction there. Lewis the Groſs, ſon of Philip, was at this time king of France; and having been obliged, during the life-time of his father, to fly into England to eſcape the perſecutions of his ſtep-mother Bertrude, had been protected by Henry, and had thence conceived a perſonal friendſhip for him. But after the acceſſion of Lewis, he, finding his intereſt oppoſite in many particulars, to thoſe of the Engliſh monarch, joined the counts of Anjou and Flanders, in giving diſquiet to Henry's government. Hence the king of England found himſelf obliged, in order to defend his foreign dominions, to go over to Normandy, where he reſided two years, during which there only paſſed ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes on the frontiers. Henry now, by contracting his eldeſt ſon William to the daughter of Fulk, detached that prince from the alliance, and obliged the others to agree to an accommodation.

This peace was, however, of ſhort duration, for in 1118 William, his nephew, diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of Clito (which was uſed in that age by the Normans, as Atheling was by the Saxons, to denote a prince of the royal blood) had now attained to manhood, and ſhewed ſtrong indications of a great ſpirit, and an underſtanding fit to ſupport his high pretenſions. Henry had offered to give him three

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earldoms in England, and breed him up in his own court like his ſon; but he diſdained theſe offers; and perhaps might be afraid to put himſelf into the power of a king to whoſe crown he had a title. The young earl of Flanders now warmly eſpouſed his party. But the moſt fortunate event in his favour, was the death of William, earl of Evereux: for Amauri de Montfort claiming that earldom, as heir to the deceaſed, and it being refuſed him by Henry, he, by his birth, alliances, riches, and perſonal talents, perſuaded almoſt all France, and Louis himſelf, to declare war againſt Henry, in behalf of that prince. The far greateſt part of the Norman barons engaged in the ſame cauſe. The defection among them went ſo far, that Henry ſcarce knew in whom to truſt; he was encompaſſed with treaſon; it was in his court, in his council, in his bedchamber itſelf, one of the gentlemen of which formed a plot againſt his life, and though it was diſcovered to him before execution, the puniſhment of the traitor did not quiet the king's fears. He became ſo uneaſy, that for ſome time after, he never ſlept without a ſword and a ſhield lying by him, frequently changed his bed, and ordered large companies of thoſe of his domeſtics whom he thought had moſt affection to him, to keep watch in arms about his perſon at night. Thus he preſerved himſelf from aſſaſſination. Againſt thoſe who attacked him with open war, he took into his pay a ſtrong body of Bretons, and brought over a great army of his beſt friends and ſubjects, the commons

mons of England. This force, joined to that of his nephew, the earl of Blois, who continued firmly attached to his intereſt, enabled him to withſtand the revolt of the Normans, and the arms of all the other enemies who had combined to deſtroy him.

There happened in this war an event of ſo extraordinary a nature, that it deſerves particular notice. Euſtace, lord of Breteuil, who had married Juliana, a natural daughter of king Henry, and had by her two daughters, being connected in friendſhip with Amauri de Montfort, was perſuaded by him to demand a ſtrong caſtle, which was then held as part of the ducal demeſne, becauſe it had formerly been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. The king, afraid at ſuch a time, to refuſe almoſt any requeſt, and yet unwilling to truſt him with the caſtle, promiſed to grant it him after the concluſion of the war, when it could be done with more ſafety, and gave him the governor's ſon as a hoſtage for the performance of his promiſe, taking in return his two daughters as hoſtages for his fidelity during the war. But Euſtace, being perſuaded by Amauri de Montfort to revolt, cruelly put out the boy's eyes, and in that diſmal condition ſent him back to his father. Henry, exaſperated at ſuch an atrocious and inſolent act of barbarity, and not having the criminal in his power, delivered up to the injured governor the two young ladies, his grand-daughters, whom Euſtace had placed as hoſtages in his court, bidding him take his revenge on them as he ſhould think proper. The governor, inflamed with rage againſt

againſt Euſtace, paid no regard to their innocence, or to their being of his maſter's blood, but inhumanly cut off the ends of their noſes, and put out their eyes. Henry, inſtead of reſenting this cruel exceſs of his rage, loaded him with preſents and honours. So much did this prince's ſeverity, founded on the idea of juſtice, over-rule the moſt powerful ſentiments and affections of nature! Ancient Rome, ſays lord Lyttelton, would perhaps have admired him for this action: but, though the principle on which it was done demands veneration, and no ordinary mind could be capable of it, the deed raiſes horror; and one would wiſh, for Henry's honour, that he had found leſs direful methods to appeaſe his injured ſervant, without inflicting on innocence pains that are only due to guilt, and in the perſons of thoſe whom the firſt and greateſt of all laws, the law of nature, particularly obliged him to ſave and protect.

Henry's daughter, Juliana, was ſo much enraged, that ſhe endeavoured to revenge her children's ſufferings by the murder of her father. Her huſband had left Breteuil in her cuſtody, but the inhabitants delivering it up to the king, ſhe retired into the caſtle; when, finding ſhe could not maintain it againſt him, ſhe deſired a parley with him, to which he having conſented, the furious woman diſcharged an arrow at him out of a croſs-bow; but, fortunately for them both, it did not hurt him. She was then compelled to ſurrender the caſtle and herſelf at diſcretion. All who were with him ſtood in an uncertain and fearful expecta-

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tion, to ſee in what manner a prince, ſo rigorous in his juſtice, would puniſh a daughter, who had impiouſly made an attempt againſt his life. Imputing her intention of murdering him to the madneſs of her grief, he would not let her ſuffer in life or limb, nor even deprive her of liberty; but took a ſtrange method of expoſing her to ſhame: for, the draw-bridge being, by his order, broken down, on her leaving the caſtle, ſhe was obliged, in the ſight of his wondering army, to get down from the rampart into the ditch, and wade through the water of the moat, which was not deep enough to drown her, and with this brand of ignominy he ſent her to her huſband.

Henry's affairs were now in a more proſperous ſtate. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, his keeneſt enemy, and the moſt attached to his nephew, had been wounded in the face by a lance, in an engagement near Eu, in 1118, and his intemperance and incontinence, while the wound was under cure, rendered it mortal. Henry, on being informed of his danger, expreſſed great concern, and even ſent him his own phyſician, a man eminently ſkilled in his profeſſion: but his help came too late. The balance of power now turned in Henry's favour: but he was ſo little elevated by his good fortune, as not to forget his uſual moderation, and therefore made war by counſel, rather than by the ſword, and choſe to conquer without bloodſhed, or with as little as poſſible. Finding that the earl of Anjou was his moſt formidable enemy, he having in the laſt war taken from him the

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town of Alençon, and totally defeated his troops that came to its relief, he resolved to try to recover the friendship of that valiant prince, by compleating the marriage they had before agreed on; and, sending for prince William, his son, from England, managed a secret negociation with the earl, and the articles being privately settled between them, solemnized the nuptials at Lisieux in Normandy, in June 1119. Besides a large portion paid down, the lady brought her husband the reversion of Maine, which, by the contract of marriage, was settled upon him after the death of her father. Thus, in the midst of this formidable war, which had threatened him with the loss of all his dominions, did Henry gain to his family one of the most considerable provinces in France.

On this happy turn in his affairs, he prosecuted the war with great vigour in Normandy, which he would soon have concluded, if the king of France, attended by William, duke Robert's son, had not marched thither, to succour the rebels, at the head of his army. Henry, upon the first notice of that monarch's approach, retired to Rouen, being willing to avoid any hostilities against Lewis: but the French having advanced within four miles of Rouen, and ravaged the whole country with fire and sword, he resolved to give them battle; which he soon after did in the plain of Brenneville, near the castle of Noyon. Lewis, who, from the seeming timid behaviour of his enemies, had been induced to despise them, was much surprized, on his entering that plain, at seeing

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their army drawn up in excellent order, and hurried on by a raſh impulſe of precipitate courage, attacked them as ſoon as ſeen, without even waiting till he had formed his own troops.

The engagement was begun by William Clito, who, by the impetuoſity of his charge, broke the firſt line of the Engliſh; but was repulſed by the ſecond, compoſed of Henry's houſhold, and commanded by that king. Lewis himſelf then brought up the main body of his army, which, being in no better order, was alſo defeated. Yet, during the heat of the action, Henry was in great danger; for William Criſpin, a Norman knight, attacked him hand to hand, and ſtruck him twice upon the head with his ſword. He was preſerved by his helmet, which was ſo finely tempered that it could not be penetrated, though by the weight of the blows it was beat into his head, ſo that blood iſſued out; but, having recovered himſelf, he returned ſuch a ſtroke on the creſt of the enemy, that, with the force of the ſhock, both man and horſe were (according to ſome of the contemporary authors) thrown to the ground; but Olderius Vitalis aſſerts, that Criſpin was ſtruck down by one of Henry's barons. It is however certain, that he was taken priſoner at Henry's feet.

The battle at firſt had been only between the horſe; but the Engliſh rear, compoſed of infantry armed with pikes, coming up, the French cavalry did not dare to ſtand their attack. Many of the principal nobles of France were made priſoners, and Lewis himſelf, with great difficulty, eſcaped, by flying on foot into

a wood, in which he for ſome time wandered alone, and was conducted from thence to Andeli, by a peaſant who did not know him. His horſe and ſtandard were taken; the laſt of which Henry kept as an honourable trophy: but the horſe he ſent to the king with all its accoutrements; and ordered his ſon to return that of William Clito, who had been alſo diſmounted in the action.

So perfect a victory over the French king in perſon was very glorious to Henry; yet, being won with more diſhonour than loſs to the French, they recovered their ſpirits, returned into Normandy, and again offered him battle, which he did not accept. He afterwards gained ſome other ſucceſſes in the war, of which he made no other advantage but to bring on a peace, thinking *that* the beſt fruit which, all circumſtances conſidered, his ſucceſs could produce, either to himſelf or his ſubjects.

Lewis being unable to wreſt Normandy from the king by force of arms, carried young William to a general council aſſembled at Rheimes, by pope Calixtus II. and preſenting the Norman prince to them, complained of the uſurpation and injuſtice of Henry, craved the aſſiſtance of the church to reinſtate him in his dominions, and repreſented the baſeneſs of detaining in captivity the brave prince Robert, who, by being one of the moſt eminent champions of the croſs, was under the immediate protection of the holy ſee. Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour and dexterity. He had ſent over the Engliſh biſhops

biſhops to this ſynod; but at the ſame time informed them, that if any farther claims were ſtated by the pope or the eccleſiſtics, he was determined to adhere to the laws and cuſtoms of England, and maintain the prerogatives tranſmitted to him by his anceſters. However, finding it would be eaſier for him to elude than to oppoſe the efforts of Calixtus, he ordered his ambaſſadors to gain the pope and his favourites by liberal preſents. Hence the complaints offered by Lewis in behalf of the Norman prince, were heard with great coldneſs, and Calixtus himſelf confeſſed, after a conference which he had the ſame ſummer with Henry, that of all the men with whom he had ever yet been acquainted, he was the moſt eloquent, and had the greateſt ſkill in the art of perſuaſion.

A treaty was now ſet on foot, the greateſt difficulty in which was Henry's diſputing the nature of the homage which the dukes of Normandy owed to the French crown. Lewis would not give up this important point, which ſeemed an irremoveable bar to the peace: when Henry, who greatly deſired it, found an expedient which, in ſome meaſure, ſaved his own dignity, and contented the French king; that his ſon William ſhould be inveſted with the dutchy of Normandy in his ſtead, and do homage for it in the accuſtomed form. This being agreed to, with the mutual reſtitution of places and priſoners taken on both ſides, during the war, the peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction and honour of Henry, who, without any loſs, had ſuſtained all the efforts of ſo

ſtrong a confederacy, and come out of ſuch a great and dangerous war more reſpected and more powerful than ever.

But Henry's felicity, which now appeared ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, was ſuddenly deſtroyed, by the moſt unhappy accident that ever humbled the pride of human wiſdom. The king, on his return, ſet ſail from Barfleur, and was ſoon carried by a fair wind out of ſight of land. The prince was detained by ſome accident, and the ſhip which carried him, with all the flower of the Engliſh nobility, put out in the night from the ſame place; but by the great careleſſneſs of the maſter and ſailors, who were all drunk, ſtruck on a rock that lay concealed under water, not far from the Norman ſhore. The prince got into the long-boat, and, as the weather was calm, might eaſily have been ſaved; but, moved with the piercing cries and entreaties of the young counteſs of Perche, his natural ſiſter, imploring him to take her into the boat, he ordered it to be rowed back to the ſhip, when ſo many leaped into it, that it immediately ſunk. Richard, one of Henry's natural ſons, who had gained a great reputation in the laſt war; the counteſs of Cheſter, the king's niece, and ſiſter to the earl of Blois; Richard, earl of Cheſter, her huſband; and Other, his brother, who was governor to the prince; a nephew of the emperor Henry V. and other illuſtrious perſons, foreigners as well as Engliſh, who had attached themſelves to the perſon and fortune of Henry, or the riſing hopes of his ſon, periſhed with the latter, by

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this unforeſeen misfortune. When the ſhip was ſinking, two perſons climbed up the maſt, and getting to the top of it, kept their heads above the water, which was not very deep. One of them was the young ſon of Gilbert de Aquila, the other a butcher of Rouen. In this ſituation they remained a great part of the night, but the tender youth, being benumbed by the wet and cold, loſt his ſtrength, and, recommending his companion to the mercy of God, fell into the ſea, and roſe no more. The butcher, who was clad in a thick woollen garment, and was more hardy in his conſtitution, held out till morning; and, being ſaved by ſome fiſhermen who came from Barfleur, related the circumſtances of this diſmal event. The dead body of the prince was ſought for in vain; his father was denied the conſolation even of burying him; he had no grave but the ocean.

Henry, with all his firmneſs, could not reſiſt this dreadful ſhock. At hearing the news he fainted; and it was ſome time before he recovered that compoſure of mind which diſtinguiſhed his character. Indeed he had reaſon to be extremely grieved, both as a father and a king. The prince was of an amiable and hopeful diſpoſition; and, as Henry had no other legitimate ſon, his death left the ſucceſſion to England and Normandy quite undetermined.

Henry, therefore, having buried his wife Matilda about two years before, now reſolved to marry again, in hopes of poſterity; and choſe Adelais, the daughter of Godfrey, duke

of Louvain, who was diſtinguiſhed by her beauty, but ſhe brought him no child; and, as he was in the decline of life, two years were ſcarce over, when many of his ſubjects began to turn their eyes towards the ſon of duke Robert; the valour that prince had diſcovered in the laſt war giving, in the opinion of the public, new weight to his pretenſions. Indeed England was too firmly attached to Henry, for his nephew's adherents to make any impreſſion upon that nation, while he was alive: but Normandy, being more open to the power and influence of the French court, and the nobility, from long habits of faction, more ready to revolt, a very conſiderable number of them engaged with prince William, and were ſupported in their conſpiracy by Fulk, earl of Anjou, who, having returned from Jeruſalem in 1121, required that the portion he had given with his daughter ſhould be repaid, becauſe the marriage was not conſummated. This Henry refuſed, which gave the earl an excuſe for taking the part, which at this time a greater intereſt ſeemed to require; for there was reaſon to believe that Normandy now, and England hereafter, would fall into the hands of that young prince, whom, therefore, the earl was deſirous of marrying to one of his daughters, that, by means of this alliance, his family might regain all the dominions it had loſt by the unfortunate death of Henry's ſon. He, therefore, contracted his daughter Sibylla to William Clito, and gave her the earldom of Maine for her dower.

Thus

Thus was Henry forſaken by that ally whom he had moſt endeavoured to fix in his party, and whom, of all his enemies he moſt feared. But his prudence and good fortune did not forſake him. By attacking the conſpirators before they were ready, he took ſome of their caſtles, and not long after, moſt of their leaders, being ſurprized on a march near Bourg Teronde, were taken priſoners, and the victory was compleat, though very little blood was ſhed in the action.

By this defeat, all the hopes of William Clito were blaſted; for many who had deſigned to join him were ſtopped, and many who had declared for his party forſook it; the earl of Anjou himſelf, too apt to change with all the changes of fortune, ſubmitted to obtain a diſhonourable peace, by renouncing his friendſhip, and even expelling him out of his dominions, after his contract of marriage had been diſſolved by the pope, on the uſual pretence of conſanguinity.

Henry remained quiet maſter of Normandy, where he endeavoured to ſtrengthen his government by the rigorous puniſhments he inflicted on thoſe who had revolted againſt him, and the liberal rewards he beſtowed on his friends. His only uneaſineſs was, the want of an heir; for he had now but little hope of having one by his queen; and till the ſucceſſion was ſettled, he knew that the ſpirits of his nephew's adherents would be kept up, and that every day which ſhould be added to his own age, would leſſen his power, and carry the attention and regards of his ſubjects towards that young prince.

prince. While he was diſturbed with theſe thoughts, the emperor, who had married his daughter Matilda, died without iſſue on the 25th of May 1125. Upon which he immediately ſent for his daughter, in order to make her heireſs of all his dominions, in caſe he ſhould die without a ſon.

She came to him in Normandy, and he reſolved to endeavour to get her right of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed firſt in England, where he was moſt ſure of ſucceſs, and hoped, that the Normans would follow the example ſet by the Engliſh. Yet ſtrong as his authority was in that kingdom, it was not without great and long deliberation, that the parliament would give their conſent to this ſettlement of the crown on a woman. But that conſent being obtained, all the barons and other members of that aſſembly that were of any importance, ſwore to receive the empreſs Matilda for their queen, if Henry ſhould die without leaving a legitimate ſon.

This important affair being ſettled to Henry's ſatisfaction, he ſaw, with leſs uneaſineſs, ſome clouds that were gathering at this time in the French horizon. Lewis the Groſs continued to protect his nephew William Clito, ſtrongly recommending that young prince's cauſe to all the vaſſals of France, and entreating their aid to reſtore him to the dutchy of Normandy. By this ſupport, the hopes of his party were revived, and ſoon became more ſanguine, when, after a diſſolution of his contract of marriage with Sibylla of Anjou.

Lewis

Lewis gave him a ſiſter of his own queen, and as a dower to that lady, a province called the French Vexin, with three adjacent towns of Caumont, Mante, and Pontois. Not long after, Charles, ſurnamed the Good, earl of Flanders, being murdered at Bruges by ſome of his ſubjects, Lewis alſo granted him the inveſtiture of that earldom.

Henry was alarmed at his nephew being thus made a more formidable enemy than ever, The dominion of Flanders, a rich and powerful ſtate, might probably give him the means of conquering Normandy with the aſſiſtance of his many adherents there, after which an attempt on England itſelf might be made from both countries. To avoid this danger, Henry ſaw no better ſecurity than confirming his alliance with Fulk, earl of Anjou, by marrying his daughter, the empreſs Matilda, to Geoffry Plantagenet, that prince's ſon and heir.

In the mean time, the rigour with which William Clito, after his being made earl of Flanders, puniſhed all the accomplices in the murder of his predeceſſor, though a laudable act of juſtice, ſo exaſperated their friends, who were many and powerful, that while he was employed in an attack upon Stephen, earl of Boulogne, they invited Theodorick, landgrave of Alſace, who had ſome pretenſions to Flanders by right of inheritance, but in a degree more remote, to aſſert his claim. Henry was deſirous of ſupporting his title, and engaged his inſeparable ally the earl of Blois to accede to their league. Theodorick, thus encouraged, entered

entered Flanders with a good body of troops, and immediately his party delivered up to him Ghent, Liſle, and ſeveral other ſtrong towns, while Henry made a diverſion on the borders, by which he drew off the French king, William Clito's beſt ally, from aſſiſting him in this war. Yet that prince, with undaunted courage, ſupporting his own cauſe, many Normans joined him out of love to his perſon, at the expence of incurring a total forfeiture of their lands.

While he was at Ipres, a conſpiracy was formed by ſome of the Flemings, to ſurprize the fort in which he lay, and to murder him; and probably would have ſucceeded, had it not been diſcovered by a young girl in the town, with whom he privately carried on a love intrigue. She had been entruſted with the ſecret by ſome of her family; and, on his paying her a viſit, ſhe could not help burſting into tears, when inſiſting on knowing the cauſe, ſhe revealed to him the whole plot; upon which he immediately aſſembled his friends, and taking his miſtreſs with him, eſcaped out of Ipres; after which, to ſecure her againſt all future danger, he ſent her away to the court of William the Ninth, duke of Aquitain, with whom he had contracted the moſt intimate friendſhip; and recommending his fair deliverer to him, deſired him to procure her an honourable match.

After this act of gratitude, he cauſed ſentence of death to be legally paſſed upon all concerned in the plot, and laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle of Aloſt, which had revolted from him to the landgrave, expoſing his own perſon in every attack

attack with the greateſt intrepidity. The caſtle being reduced to the laſt extremity, the landgrave fought a battle, in order to raiſe the ſiege. His troops were at firſt victorious; but William Clito, ſeeing his men give ground, brought to their aid a reſerve of freſh forces, and, bravely charging at the head of them himſelf, defeated the enemy. After this glorious ſucceſs, returning inſtantly to the ſiege of the caſtle, he found at the gates a part of the garriſon, who had made a ſally to aſſiſt their friends in the battle, and purſued them to the ramparts, where, catching at a pike, which was held out againſt him by a common ſoldier, he received a wound in his hand, which penetrated from thence to the wriſt, and by an ill habit of body, or the unſkilfulneſs of his ſurgeons, it turned to a gangrene, of which he died in five days.

Thus, ſays the lord Lyttelton, did this brave prince periſh in the very flower of his age, at the time when, after long contending with the malice of fortune, he began to have hopes of being raiſed to a greatneſs ſuperior to that of his moſt illuſtrious anceſtor William the Conqueror himſelf. Had he ſurvived his uncle, he would probably have been earl of Flanders, duke of Normandy, and king of England. With this flattering proſpect before him, he was cut off, and with him all the family of duke Robert, for he had no child. In this manner did Providence open a way to the future reſtoration of the Saxon royal blood, in the poſterity of Matilda, king Henry's conſort,

which

which the life of this prince would probably have for ever excluded from the throne of this kingdom.

A little before he expired, he ſent a ſon of Odo, biſhop of Baieux, who had followed his fortunes, with a letter to Henry, written on his death-bed, in which he entreated him to forgive whatever he had done to offend him, and receive his friends to mercy: an act of humiliation, to which his high ſpirit would never have ſubmitted, had it not been ſoftened and ſubdued by the ſentiments of a heart, in which religion and friendſhip prevailed over reſentment and pride. Henry appeared touched by this affecting letter, and treated all who, in confidence of this recommendation, came and ſubmitted to him, with great kindneſs; advancing ſome of the moſt deſerving among them to the higheſt degree of his favour. As to the earldom of Flanders, though he might have claimed it himſelf, from his mother Matilda, yet, after the part he had taken, he thought it wiſer and more decent to confirm the poſſeſſion of it to the landgrave of Alſace.

Henry remained undiſturbed by any war with France, without doing homage to that crown for his dutchy of Normandy, during the reſt of his life. His great reputation preſerved him from the attacks of foreign powers; and his temper inclined him to preſerve what he had got in honourable peace, rather than diſquiet his age by the ambitious deſire of acquiring more. The chief object of his thoughts was how to ſecure the ſettlement he had made of the ſucceſſion of his crown in favour of Matilda.

With

With this view, at his return from Normandy into England, after the death of his nephew, in 1135, he brought over that lady, and, in a very full parliament held at Northampton, obtained an oath of fealty to her as heireſs to his kingdom, from ſome of the barons, who, either on account of abſence or nonage, had not taken it before; and a renewal of it from thoſe who had engaged themſelves to her before her ſecond marriage. She herſelf did not eaſily ſubmit to a huſband, ſo much below her own rank. Her arrogance produced a coldneſs between them; for he had a ſpirit which could not bear contempt, and was diſſatisfied with Henry for not having put him into the immediate poſſeſſion of Normandy, as by the treaty of marriage he had been made to expect. But prudence prevented theſe complaints from breaking out into an open quarrel; and the earl having ſent to ſollicit the return of his wife into Anjou, her father, by the advice of his barons, conſented to let her go to him; and ſhe obeyed without any apparent reluctance.

As England remained in perfect tranquility, Henry paid a viſit to Normandy, to ſee his daughter, and ſome time after, that princeſs was delivered of a ſon, who after him was named Henry. The joy of this event, and the ſatisfaction which he reaped from his daughter's company, who ſucceſſively bore two other ſons, would have rendered his reſidence in Normandy very agreeable to him, if it had not been diſturbed by domeſtic uneaſineſs. The earl of Anjou, his ſon-in-law, who was juſt of an age,

to entertain the moſt eager deſires of ambition, having waited for ſome time to no purpoſe, began to encourage ſeditions in Normandy, and endeavoured to form a party there. He even ſhewed ſo little reſpect for Henry, even in family points, that, upon a diſpute with the viſcount of Beaumont, who had married one of the king's natural daughters, he treated that lord with the utmoſt ſeverity, and burned his caſtle to the ground. Matilda was far from acting the decent part of a mediatreſs between him and her father, and inflamed, inſtead of moderating the king's diſpleaſure againſt him. Henry, diſquieted by theſe alarms, durſt not leave Normandy, though he received advice from England of the Welch having infeſted his borders. To the vexation this gave him, ſome hiſtorians of that age impute his death, which, by others, is aſcribed to a ſurfeit of lampreys, and it might be owing to both; for though he was uſually temperate in eating and drinking, that kind of food was particularly diſagreeable to his conſtitution. Thus far is certain, that having dined upon that fiſh, after his return from hunting in the foreſt of Lyons, near Rouen, he was ſeized with a fever, which in ſeven days put an end to his life. When he found himſelf dying, he declared, in the preſence of Robert, earl of Glouceſter, his natural ſon, and a large aſſembly of nobles, who came to know his laſt will, that he bequeathed both England and Normandy to his daughter Matilda and her poſterity, without taking any notice of her huſband, the earl of Anjou.

Anjou. Thus died this great prince on the firſt of December, 1135, in the 67th year of his age, and the 36th of his reign.

Henry was one of the moſt accompliſhed princes that have worn the crown of England, and poſſeſſed all the great qualities that could fit him for the high ſtation he filled. His perſon was manly, he had an engaging countenance, and his eyes were clear, ſerene, and penetrating. His affability encouraged thoſe who might be intimidated by the idea of his dignity or of his wiſdom; and, though he frequently indulged his facetious diſpoſition, he tempered it with diſcretion, and avoided all indecent familiarities with his courtiers. His ſuperior judgment and eloquence would have given him an aſcendant, even had he been born in a private ſtation; and his perſonal bravery would have inſpired reſpect, though it had been leſs ſupported by art and policy. By his great progreſs in literature, he acquired the name of Beauclerk; but his application to ſtudy did not abate the vigilance and activity of his government. He had the glory of reforming and amending the ſtate of the kingdom, and took care that the adminiſtration of juſtice, to all orders of men, ſhould be ſtrict and impartial. He enacted good laws, and by his firmneſs enforced a due obedience to them. In this reign ſtealing was firſt made capital, as was alſo falſe coining, by which the money had been extremely debaſed. Among the laws, made in his reign, the reunion of the civil and eccleſiaſtical courts, as in the Saxon times, was enacted.

This prince is ſaid, from his indulgence to his tenants, to have changed the rents of his demeſnes, which were formerly paid in kind, into money, which was more eaſily remitted to the exchequer. But, as the great ſcarcity of coin muſt frequently render that difficult to be executed, while at the ſame time proviſions could not be ſent to a diſtant part of the kingdom, this was probably the reaſon why the kings of England ſo frequently changed their place of abode, removing their court from one palace to another, that they might conſume the revenues of the ſeveral demeſnes, upon the ſpot.

King Henry was much addicted to women, and had no leſs than ſeven illegitimate ſons and ſix daughters. Hunting was alſo one of his favourite amuſements.

CHAP.

STEPHEN.

CHAP. IV.

STEPHEN.

The Reaſons which induced the Nobility and Clergy to concur in placing him on the Throne. His Acceſſion. A Scots Army commits the moſt dreadful Ravages in England. A great Victory gained over the Scots. Stephen taken Priſoner. The Princeſs Matilda, being beſieged in the Palace at Wincheſter, eſcapes from thence. The Earl of Glouceſter, being taken Priſoner, is exchanged for Stephen, who is reſtored to the Crown. Matilda's Eſcape from Oxford. Compromiſe between Stephen and Henry. The King's Death and Character.

THE meaſures taken by Henry to ſecure his dominions to his daughter and grandſon would have ſucceeded, could human prudence always regulate the changeable courſe of events. But they were defeated by accidents, which it was impoſſible for him to foreſee; and by the perfidy of thoſe, upon whoſe faithful attachment to him and his family, he had the greateſt reaſon to believe he might ſafely depend. His daughter happened, at the time of his death, to be in Anjou with her huſband, where ſhe was employed in ſome important buſineſs of that province. Her natural brother, the earl of Glouceſter, who, by his credit in England, and his great abilities, might have

maintained her intereſt, was detained in Normandy as executor to the will of his father in his Norman affairs. Their abſence at this criſis inſpired Stephen, earl of Mortagne and Boulogne, with the hopes of aſcending the throne; or rather facilitated a deſign he had formed while Henry was living, in concert with his brother the biſhop of Wincheſter. He was of the royal family, being grandſon of William the Firſt, by Adela his fourth daughter; and, therefore, had he been nominated by the late king, with the conſent of parliament, or if no other had been ſo nominated, he might have been capable of ſucceeding to the crown, according to the principles of the Anglo-Norman conſtitution, in preference to Matilda, or to his own elder brother Thibaud, earl of Blois, who had not, like him, been naturalized in England. He was alſo allied to the Saxon royal family, by his having married Matilda, the daughter of the earl of Boulogne, by Mary of Scotland, a younger ſiſter of Henry's firſt wife; ſo that ſhe and the empreſs Matilda were firſt couſins, and deſcended equally from the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Edgar Atheling.

From all theſe pretenſions Stephen was cut off by the ſettlement which Henry had made with the concurrence of parliament; and more particularly by his own act, he having no leſs than three times ſworn, in the ſight of the whole nation, to maintain the ſucceſſion of the empreſs, before and after her marriage with Geoffry Plantaganet, earl of Anjou, and on the

the birth of her ſon Henry, to whom alſo he took an oath, as heir to the kingdom after her deceaſe: but theſe engagements were too weak to reſtrain his ambition, tempted and enflamed by opportunity. To the guilt of perjury, he added that of the blackeſt ingratitude: for his uncle had beſtowed many favours upon him, having procured for him a match, by which he acquired the earldom of Boulogne, one of the richeſt in Europe, and ſome very conſiderable poſſeſſions in England, given by William the Firſt to the family of the lady he married. Henry had alſo conferred upon him, liberal grants of honours and lands within this realm, had given him in Normandy the earldom of Mortagne, and had made his younger brother abbot of Glaſtenbury and biſhop of Wincheſter. But benefits heaped on the ambitious, are no ties to ſecure their fidelity, and only enable them, when their intereſt requires it, to hurt their benefactors. Hence theſe dignities and riches were ſo many ſteps which aſſiſted Stephen to mount that throne, which his gracious maſter left to Matilda.

Indeed there ſtill remained in that age, inveterate prejudices againſt the idea of a female dominion. In all the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, there is but one inſtance of a lady's being allowed to ſucceed to the crown, that is, Sexburga, the wife of Cenwalch, king of the Weſt-Saxons, who reigned but a year, when ſhe was expelled by the nobles, who would not fight under a woman. From the diſſolution of the heptarchy down to this period, the crown had

had never been placed on a female head. Nor had the Normans any example of the ſovereignty among them being veſted in a woman, from the foundation of their dukedom in France; or in the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, from whence they came; ſo that Matilda's ſucceſſion was no leſs a novelty to them than to the Engliſh.

It muſt however be obſerved, that ſome time before this, fiefs had begun to deſcend to females, in default of heirs-male. The earldom of Boulogne was thus acquired by Stephen himſelf, in right of his wife: but ancient and rooted opinions of the unfitneſs of a female hand to wield a ſcepter, would not eaſily yield to arguments of analogy drawn from a late practice in private ſucceſſions, or in principalities that were under a feudal ſubjection: but whatever their opinions might have been at that time, as no force was uſed, their oaths were binding, and they could not recede from them without being perjured.

In order to get over this difficulty, Stephen prevailed on Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk, to ſwear before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that Henry had, in his preſence, releaſed his ſubjects from thoſe oaths: though the king had really confirmed them by his laſt will, verbally declared in the preſence of all the lords who were with him in Normandy; but theſe not having yet returned to England, the falſhood remained uncontradicted till Stephen was fixed on the throne.

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The biſhop of Saliſbury in thus deſerting Matilda, broke every bond of human ſociety; for no man in the whole kingdom, not Stephen himſelf, had been ſo highly obliged to Henry, who took him into his ſervice during the reign of William Rufus, when he was only a curate in Normandy; and finding him dextrous in buſineſs, eſpecially in the management of money affairs, put ſuch an unlimited confidence in his fidelity, that when he came to the crown, he firſt made him chancellor, then biſhop of Saliſbury, and at laſt grand juſticiary; by which high dignity he was at the king's deceaſe, the conſtitutional guardian and regent of the kingdom. Thus Matilda being abſent, the whole ſtrength of the government remained

* Each pound in money ſtill continued to weigh twelve ounces of ſilver.

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in his hands; and had he kept his engagements, it would not have been in the power of any other to defeat her ſucceſſion. We are not told what induced him to betray her, but it is certain, that immediately after the king's coronation, he obtained the town of Malmeſbury for himſelf, the office of chancellor for his natural ſon, and that of treaſurer for one of his nephews. Theſe were probably the terms upon which he ſold himſelf to Stephen, who was ſo ſenſible how neceſſary it was to buy him, that in a diſcourſe with ſome of his own friends, he thus expreſſed himſelf, "By the nativity of "God, if he were to aſk of me one half of "my kingdom, I would grant it to him, *till* "*this ſeaſon be paſt.* He ſhall himſelf be tired of aſking ſooner than I will of giving."

Theſe words are very expreſſive of the character of this king. In bargaining for the crown, he thought no price too great, but when that *ſeaſon was paſt*, he meant to take other meaſures; and the biſhop of Saliſbury himſelf was one of the firſt who felt the effects of this intention.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, who had been the chief inſtrument in ſeducing that prelate from his loyalty to Matilda, was almoſt as powerful by the force of a bold and extraordinary genius, as the other was by his office. William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, being of a mild temper, gave way to him in all things; and he acquired ſuch an influence over the clergy, that he governed the Engliſh church, though there never was a mind leſs ſuited to the

the duties of a churchman. But profuſe liberality, princely magnificence, the courage of a ſoldier, the addreſs of a courtier, and the cunning of a ſtateſman, with a peculiar dexterity in the management of a party, ſupplied the want of all Chriſtian virtues, which he hardly deigned even to counterfeit, except in pretending an ardent zeal for religion. He directed his brother's faction by every art of cabal and corruption; and Stephen owed the ground he gained more to his abilities than his own. Yet that prince himſelf had ſome popular qualities; he was brave, affable, good-natured, and generous in the higheſt degree. Having received his education in the Engliſh court, he had formed many connections of acquaintance and friendſhip among the nobility, and had rendered himſelf agreeable to the people, not only from policy, but from the bent of his temper, which naturally inclined him to let down his dignity, and conform his manners to theirs.

Theſe and ſeveral other advantages concurred to facilitate his way to the throne; but they would have been inſufficient without the conſent of the nation, and to obtain it, he entered into an engagement to make ſome conceſſions demanded by the barons and people of England, and to grant to the clergy ſuch privileges, as they had in vain wiſhed to extort from his predeceſſors. This he not only ratified by an extraordinary oath which he took at his coronation, and by a general charter, confirming that of king Henry the Firſt, and the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; but ſome time after,

after, by another given at Oxford, in which were ſet down all the particulars of his oath. By one clauſe, he ſettled the bounds of his foreſts, and gave up all the additions that had been made to them in the reign of his predeceſſors: in others, he promiſed to redreſs all the abuſes, unlawful exactions, or other wrongs the people had ſuffered from the officers of the crown; to maintain peace and juſtice, and to confirm the good laws and the ancient equitable cuſtoms of the realm, in judicial proceedings. All the other articles regarded the clergy, to whom the king very amply confirmed all the liberties, privileges, and dignities of the church, and even went ſo far, as to bind himſelf to commit all power of juriſdiction over the perſons and properties of eccleſiaſtics, to the biſhops themſelves: a conceſſion deſtructive to the civil authority, and the moſt unalienable rights of the crown. But in the concluſion he declared, that he granted the whole with a ſaving of his juſt and royal dignity; a clauſe not inſerted in any other charter, either before or after. Beſides this, Stephen procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title, and declared Matilda to be illegitimate, on account of her mother's having received part of her education in a convent, though that affair had before been determined by the clergy, at the time of her marriage with Henry.

Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, Stephen invited over from the continent a great number of thoſe bravoes, or diſorderly ſoldiers, which ſerved for hire and plunder, chiefly from Britanny

Britanny and Flanders; and theſe mercenary troops, the moſt odious to the nation that can poſſibly be conceived, guarded his throne by the terrors of the ſword.

Matilda, and her huſband Geoffry, were as unfortunate in Normandy, as they had been in England; for the nobility of that dutchy hearing that Stephen had got poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, and having the ſame reaſons as formerly, for deſiring a continuance of their union with that kingdom, transfered their allegiance to Stephen, and put him in poſſeſſion of their government. Lewis the Younger, king of France, not only accepted the homage of Euſtace, Stephen's eldeſt ſon, for the dutchy, but betrothed his ſiſter Conſtantia to the young prince. The count of Blois reſigned all his pretenſions, and in lieu of them, received an annual penſion of two thouſand marks; and Geoffry himſelf, Matilda's huſband, was forced to conclude a truce with Stephen for two years, on condition of his paying him a penſion of five thouſand. Stephen finiſhed all theſe tranſactions in a journey he made to Normandy, and then returned to England.

Robert, earl of Gloceſter, one of Henry's natural ſons, was much attached to his ſiſter Matilda's intereſt, and being a man of honour and ability, the king had reaſon to dread his intrigues. That nobleman was in Normandy, when he received intelligence of Stephen's acceſſion, and was ſo confounded and ſtunned, at finding that all the engagements and oaths to his family were diſregarded, that for ſome

time he did not know what meaſures to take. To ſwear allegiance to the uſurper, would be not only diſhonourable, but a breach of his oath to Matilda: and to refuſe it was to render himſelf incapable of ſerving her. He therefore offered Stephen to do him homage, and to take the oath of fealty to him, with an expreſs condition, that the king ſhould maintain all his ſtipulations, and ſhould never invade any of his rights and dignities; and Stephen, though ſenſible that this reſerve ſo unbefitting the duty of a ſubject, was meant only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the firſt favourable opportunity, was obliged, by the numerous friends of that nobleman, to receive him on thoſe terms.

Matilda might reaſonably have expected a ſtrong aſſiſtance from Scotland; but though David, her uncle, as ſoon as he was informed of Stephen's election, had made a ſudden attack, by which he made himſelf maſter of all Cumberland and Northumberland, except the town and caſtle of Bamburgh; yet Stephen marching againſt him, he agreed to a treaty, by which he reſtored all he had taken, except Carliſle.

Notwithſtanding the above peace, the king of Scotland ſoon after raiſed an army, and laying claim to the earldom of Northumberland, in behalf of his ſon Henry, ſent ambaſſadors to Stephen with the above demand; but that king rejecting his ſuit, he declared war againſt him; and after making a fruitleſs attack on Weark caſtle, ravaged all the open country as far as the Tyne, in a moſt inhuman manner, his

his army committing the moſt horrid outrages. The farms and villages they firſt plundered, and then ſet on fire: the churches did not eſcape their rage. They murdered the ſick and aged in their beds, infants at the breaſt, and prieſts at the altar. Women in child-bed or pregnant, they alſo killed, with circumſtances of cruelty too ſhocking to be related; and carried into captivity the widows and virgins, whom they drove before them in crouds, bound with cords, and ſtripped naked; and when any of theſe were fainting with anguiſh and fatigue, the ſoldiers goaded them on with the points of their lances. David found it uſeleſs to forbid what he could not prevent; the greateſt part of his army being Galwegians, who were impatient of diſcipline, and had been drawn to his ſtandard merely by the deſire of plunder.

While theſe dreadful ravages were committing in Northumberland, king Stephen was detained at the ſiege of Bedford caſtle, which the ſons of Robert de Beauchamp held valiantly againſt him above five weeks; but thro' the mediation of his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, it was at laſt given up, and he marched to the north. On his approach at the head of a great and regular army, David haſtily retired within his own borders; on which the Engliſh purſued him, and ravaged a good part of the low lands of Scotland with fire and ſword, in return for the depredations of the Scotch in Northumberland, till finding that David would not, by any provocations, be brought to a battle, and beginning to want

proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his army, he returned into England.

Stephen ſoon found, by grievous experience, how unſafe it is for a king to depend upon alliances which he has bought. The begging of new grants, with an inſolence that would brook no denial, became the ſole buſineſs of moſt of the nobility who attended his court. The more he laviſhed upon them, the higher and more importunate were their demands: they deſpiſed him for what he had given, and were ready to make war upon him for what he refuſed. Matilda's friends worked under hand, on the avarice and pride of theſe men, while thoſe who loved their country, were juſtly offended at the enormous profuſeneſs which thus exhauſted all the wealth of the crown, for the ſupport of an illegal and arbitrary power. They beheld their liberty, violated by him, and oppreſſed by foreign arms, brought over in order to ſerve not the nation, but the king; not againſt foreign enemies, but againſt his own people. Matilda they conſidered as the only deliverer that could break their chains, and looked back to her with a return of affection, which ſprung from a remembrance of the good government they had enjoyed under the reign of her father, and the compariſon of it with that of his ſucceſſor.

The earl of Glouceſter, who had waited till theſe inclinations ſhould be ripened, now thought it time to draw the ſword: but before he proceeded to hoſtilities, he ſent the king a meſſage from Normandy, informing him, that he

he renounced all fidelity and friendſhip towards him, and held himſelf free from the homage he had done him, as he had unjuſtly uſurped the crown, and violated his faith to him. He alſo pleaded his former oath to Matilda, and the nullity of that he had taken to Stephen; and even produced a decree he had obtained from the pope, which enjoined him to obſerve the oath he had taken in the preſence of his father. The authority of this apoſtolical ſentence, as it was then called, moſt effectually aſſiſted the cauſe of Matilda, and virtually abſolved all the barons of England and Normandy from their oaths to king Stephen; whence the earl of Glouceſter very wiſely and ſucceſsfully availed himſelf of it, both to juſtify his own conduct, and to bring others back to the allegiance they had alſo ſworn to his ſiſter.

His defiance of Stephen was immediately followed by the revolt of Briſtol, Dover, and Leeds, which he had received from the king his father; and of ſome other towns in the cuſtody of his kindred and friends; particularly Hereford, Shrewſbury, and Ludlow. The king of Scotland likewiſe, in concert with whom he now acted, made another incurſion into Northumberland; and his barbarous army ravaged the maritime parts of that earldom, as they had done the weſtern ſide in their former invaſion. From thence they marched along the coaſt, almoſt as far as Durham, deſtroying the whole country and its defenceleſs inhabitants with the ſame inhumanity, from which it was not in the power of their ſovereign to

withhold them. He laid ſiege to Norham with the more orderly part of his forces, and ſent the Galwegians with other irregulars, under the conduct of William, a ſon of his nephew Duncan, to penetrate into Yorkſhire. They laid waſte all the weſtern parts of that country, as far as Clitheroe, where they were oppoſed by a body of Engliſh, whom they defeated, and cut to pieces. The garriſon of Norham now deſpairing of relief, ſurrendered to David, who offered to reſtore the town and caſtle to the biſhop of Durham, under whom they were held, if he would take part with Matilda; which that prelate refuſing, David demoliſhed the place, and ſat down before Weark, the garriſon of which had cut off his convoys: but finding a much more obſtinate defence than at Norham; after ſome loſs of time, he raiſed the ſiege, leaving two of his barons, with their followers, to hinder the garriſon from receiving ſupplies. From thence he proceeded to the caſtle of Bamburg, and took one of its outworks; and having deſtroyed all the corn about this and other forts, which he propoſed to reduce by famine, he advanced to Durham, where, being rejoined by his detachment and other ſupplies, he found himſelf at the head of above 26,000 men, including ſome Engliſh horſe.

David, thus ſtrengthened, propoſed either to ſubdue or lay waſte, and depopulate the whole north of England; while the friends of Matilda, being favoured by this diverſion, might act with advantage in other parts, and

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as he ſhould advance nearer to them, unite their forces with his, which would enable him to overwhelm thoſe of Stephen.

That prince, after an unſucceſsful attempt upon Briſtol, had taken Cary caſtle, and ſoon after Hereford. He was now employed in beſieging the town and caſtle of Shrewſbury, which was bravely defended by William Fitz-Alan, who had married the earl of Glouceſter's niece. The king feared, that if he marched from thence into Yorkſhire, all the weſt of England would revolt to that earl, who had a powerful intereſt there; nor did he dare to call away a part of his forces which were employed under the orders of the queen, in defending Kent, and the ſouthern coaſts of the kingdom: yet the depredations and cruelties of the Scots were ſo terrible, that to leave his ſubjects expoſed to them would be an indelible ſtain on his honour, and force them to ſubmit to Matilda. In this dilemma he ventured to commit the defence of the north to the northern barons and their vaſſals, ſending only a body of horſe under Bernard de Baliol, to their aſſiſtance.

Before this ſuccour arrived, they had aſſembled at York to conſult what they ſhould do in this exigence, in which their whole country was threatened with utter deſtruction. Their forces appeared too few to fight the Scots, and they had no hopes of immediate aſſiſtance from the king; and beſides had hardly any confidence in each other. Their ſpirits were quite ſunk, when the archbiſhop of York, both as

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lieutenant to the king in thoſe parts, and as their ſpiritual guide, made them a noble and animating ſpeech, in which he warmly exhorted them to fight for their country; gave them confident hopes of victory, from the aſſiſtance of heaven, and concluded by telling them, that he would ſend all the pariſh prieſts of his dioceſe with their crucifixes in their hands, and dreſſed in their holy veſtments, to go with them into the field, and that he intended to accompany them himſelf.

This ſpeech had a wonderful effect upon his audience; and Bernard de Baliol happening at that inſtant to come with the reinforcement from the king, which, though inconſiderable, was more than they expected, their ſpirits were as much raiſed, as they had been ſunk before; and they unanimouſly reſolved to go back to aſſemble their vaſſals, and to return with them to York, as the moſt proper place for a general rendezvous. This being done with very great expedition, the archbiſhop appointed a faſt of three days; at the end of which, having heard their private confeſſions, he gave them a general and public abſolution, with his epiſcopal benediction. Notwithſtanding his great age, he would have accompanied them; but with many entreaties, they compelled him to ſtay, and put up his prayers for them at home. However, he ſent all his vaſſals along with them, and likewiſe his croſier, a banner conſecrated to St. Peter, and the pariſh prieſts in all their formalities.

It was, indeed, neceſſary to employ all the aids that religion could give, and even to raiſe a degree of enthuſiaſm in the Engliſh troops who were going to fight with a victorious army, almoſt treble their number, ſtrengthened by a large body of their own countrymen, and led by a great king, who was aſſiſted by officers formed under Henry's diſcipline, and by a young prince, whoſe valour his very enemies praiſed and admired. Accordingly all the officers took an oath not to forſake each other, but to conquer or die. As they marched towards the enemy, they ſent Bernard de Baliol and Robert de Bruce to the king of Scotland, who had not yet left the biſhopric of Durham, to perſuade him to deſiſt from his ravages, upon an aſſurance, that they would obtain from their ſovereign, the county of Northumberland for prince Henry, his ſon. David, who had more conſiderable objects in view, received the propoſal with ſcorn. On which Robert de Bruce and Baliol renouncing the homage they had paid him, returned to the Engliſh camp, while David paſſed the Tees, and began to ravage Yorkſhire. The Engliſh marched to meet him in the plain called Cuton Moor, where they arrived about break of day on the 22d of Auguſt 1138, and erected a ſtandard of a peculiar kind. It was the maſt of a ſhip fixed upon a wheel-carriage, at the top of which was placed a ſilver pix, containing a conſecrated wafer, and under that were hung three banners dedicated to St. Peter, St. John of Beverley,

Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Rippon. Theſe decorations, which were probably ſuggeſted by the archbiſhop of York, were adapted to ſtrike the imagination, and in fighting under it, the ſoldiers believed themſelves engaged in a holy war, the champions of Chriſt, and of thoſe ſaints and martyrs whoſe enſigns were thus waving over their heads. When it was erected, Walter Eſpec, who had a flow of natural eloquence, mounted the carriage, upon which the maſt was ſuſtained, and from thence harangued the army in a military oration, well adapted to the purpoſe; and concluded with ſaying, that they muſt conquer or die; for who among them could endure to ſurvive a defeat, that would give up his wife to be defiled by the luſt of their enemies, and his children to be ſtuck upon the points of their lances. Then turning to the earl of Albemarle, and taking him by the hand, he ſaid, "I pledge "my faith to you, that I this day will either "beat the Scotch, or be ſlain by the Scotch." Upon which all the nobles cried out with one voice, that they alſo bound themſelves by the oath he had taken.

They now drew up in order of battle, and being greatly outnumbered by the enemy, formed themſelves into one compact body or phalanx, compoſed of foot: for the generals had commanded all the cavalry to diſmount, except a few who were poſted in the rear. Thus they expected the enemy, who did not arrive till they were completely formed. The king of Scotland, on ſeeing them, ordered his army

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to halt, and immediately prepared for the engagement, by putting his army in order of battle.

While the two armies were ſtill at ſome diſtance, though in ſight of each other, Robert de Bruce having obtained the conſent of the confederate barons, went over to David as a private friend, attached to him by gratitude and affection; and put him in mind of the great ſervices the Engliſh and Normans had done to his family; that they had delivered him from the rebellion of his enemies, on which account they were hated by the Scots; that it was ſurprizing ſo wiſe a monarch render himſelf the tool of that hatred, and fight againſt thoſe who were the principal ſupport of his throne, and that he ought ſeriouſly to conſider how far he might anſwer before God, in the guilt of ſo much innocent blood, and the horrid cruelties exerciſed by his troops, though againſt his orders and inclinations. He exaggerated the courage of the Engliſh, and worked upon his paſſions by the affection he expreſſed for his perſon. David at length began to incline to a treaty. But his nephew's ſon, a young man of an impetuous temper, anſwered this ſpeech, and concluded with obſerving, that David could not now go back with honour, either as a king or a ſoldier.

Bruce left him, and had but juſt time to rejoin his friends before the van guard of the Scotch began to advance; on which the biſhop of the Orkneys made a ſhort ſpeech to the Engliſh army, in which he exhorted them to fight valiantly

valiantly *for the remiſſion of their ſins*; on which they ſtruck their breaſts, calling on God to aſſiſt their arms. He then gave them a general abſolution, and afterwards his bleſſing.

The Galwegians, after three ſhouts or rather yells, charged with ſuch fury, that they compelled the Engliſh pike-men in the firſt rank, to give ground, but were ſoon repulſed by the men at arms; when, throwing away their ſpears, they maintained the fight with their ſwords, againſt men in armour, defended only by bucklers made of cow-hides, while the Engliſh archers galled them with their arrows. Thus, after a great loſs of men in their front, thoſe on their flanks began to quit their poſts. The prince of Scotland ſeeing this, advanced to their ſuccour, and made ſo fierce an attack, that in one part, he broke through the Engliſh; and paſſing beyond their hindmoſt ranks, fell with his cavalry upon a troop of horſe-men, which had been appointed to guard the horſes of the knights who fought on foot. The Engliſh were now ſtruck with ſuch terror and confuſion, that they, were in every part beginning to quit their ground; when one among them, having cut off the head of one of the bodies ſlain near him, held it up, and cried aloud, *that it was the Scotch king's*. Upon this they immediately cloſed their ranks, and with redoubled alacrity, again charged the Galwegians, whom they ſoon put to flight. The victorious Engliſh then attacked the third line of the Scots, who hardly ſtood the firſt onſet. The king enraged at their cowardice, quitted his horſe,

horſe, and commanding all the barons and knights who were with him to diſmount, advanced on foot at the head of his body of reſerve. But the contagion of fear, inſtantly ſpreading from the others to theſe, moſt of them ſhamefully abandoned their ſovereign, without waiting the approach of the Engliſh. David himſelf refuſed to fly, and it was with great difficulty that they placed him on horſe-back, and delivered him from death or captivity, before the Engliſh infantry, which from the cloſeneſs of its order, was ſlow in its motions, could come up to attack him; and as their cavalry had been all driven out of the field, they could not at firſt purſue him in his flight, by which means he returned ſafe to Carliſle.

David was two days in great anxiety about the fate of his ſon. That prince, at his return from his too eager purſuit, found the Scots army defeated and driven from the field; and having only his own body of cavalry with him, he commanded them to throw away all the marks that diſtinguiſhed them, and to mix with the army, as if they had been the Engliſh horſemen come to join in the purſuit of the Scots, by which means they paſſed the field of battle, and then leaving the road, wandered far in the deſart parts of the country; which prevented their reaching Carliſle till the third day after the king; though in order to go the faſter, they diſencumbered themſelves of all their heavy armour. The number of the ſlain among the Scots was very great, and ſeveral knights and many banners, with almoſt all the

Scots baggage was taken. The Engliſh loſt only one gentleman of diſtinction, and very few private men.

Stephen no ſooner received the news of this victory, than he rewarded the earl of Albemarle and Robert de Ferrers, by making the firſt earl of Yorkſhire, and the other earl of Derby. Fortune now ſeemed to declare in his favour; for the ſame week in which the above battle was won, he himſelf reduced the town and caſtle of Sherwſbury, which were held by William Fitz-Alan, who eſcaped by flight; when Stephen finding that his clemency upon other occaſions had done him no good, he put to death all the principal men of the garriſon. About the ſame time the queen obtained the poſſeſſion of Dover caſtle, which was delivered up to her upon terms.

The biſhop of Saliſbury had obtained from the crown ſuch immediate favours, and uſed them with ſuch arrogance as drew upon him the envy of the nobility, and excited the jealouſy of his ſovereign himſelf. Beſides adding to the fortifications of the caſtle of Sarum, which he had obtained from king Henry, he built three others at Sherburn, at the Devizes, and at Malmeſbury, with ſuch extraordinary ſtrength and magnificence, as ſeemed to ſhew not only an opulence, but thoughts and views too great for a ſubject; and his nephew, the biſhop of Lincoln, had alſo built a ſtrong caſtle at Newark and another at Sleford. Stephen, who was prone to ſuſpicion, took umbrage at this. Beſides, the biſhop of Saliſbury's wealth was no ſmall

ſmall temptation to that prodigal king, who had ſpent all that the frugality of his predeceſſor had ſaved, and could find no means to repleniſh his empty exchequer, but by the ſpoils of a miniſter, who had immediately enriched himſelf and his family in the ſervice of the crown. Taking advantage therefore, of a fray, which had ariſen at court between the retinue of the biſhop of Saliſbury and that of the earl of Britanny, he ſeized both that prelate and the biſhop of Lincoln, threw them into priſon, and obliged them, by his menaces, to deliver up thoſe newly erected caſtles.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, the king's own brother, loudly proteſted againſt this proceeding; and after exhorting him in vain to make them reſtitution and ſatisfaction, convened a ſynod at Weſtminſter, as the Pope's legate, and cited Stephen himſelf to appear before him, and anſwer for his conduct. This was ſuch an affront to the majeſty of the crown, as would have rouſed the moſt abject ſpirit; yet inſtead of reſenting and puniſhing it, Stephen allowed himſelf to be ſubject to that juriſdiction, which he ought not to have permitted his brother to exerciſe over the loweſt peaſant in his kingdom; and not only ſuffered the ſynod to meet, but ſent ſome of his miniſters to plead for him before them. The king being at length informed, that the two biſhops had threatened to ſend ſome of their brethren with complaints againſt him to Rome, they were told, that if either of them ſhould preſume to go thither againſt the dignity of the realm, he would find it difficult

to return. Yet the king himſelf appealed to the pope, by which he debaſed his own dignity, and gave a fatal wound to the royal authority, by meanly ſubmitting the caſe to a foreign power.

This quarrel made the clergy his enemies, and their complaints had ſuch an influence on the body of the people, that the empreſs, who was alſo encouraged by the legate himſelf, landed in England with Robert earl of Glouceſter, and a retinue of one hundred and forty knights. She fixed her reſidence at Arundel caſtle, whoſe gates were opened to her by Adelais the queen dowager, now married to William de Albiney, earl of Arundel and Suſſex. After making a ſhort ſtay in the caſtle, the earl of Glouceſter, attended only by twelve horſemen, went from thence in a dark night, by unfrequented roads, towards Briſtol; and was met by a party of horſe, which eſcorted him ſafe to that city.

Intelligence being brought to the king of Matilda's landing, he quitted Marlborough, and with the beſt of his forces came before Arundel, where, finding that the earl was gone, he blocked up the caſtle, and returned to the ſiege; but the biſhop of Wincheſter adviſing him to let her join the earl of Glouceſter, under a notion that he might more eaſily ſubdue them together, Stephen was ſo weak as to give her his oath for her ſecurity, and ſend her under his own ſafe conduct to Briſtol, eſcorted by his brother and the earl of Meulant, his chief miniſter. Matilda ſtaid there for ſome time, and then removed to Glouceſter.

Stephen

Stephen now exerted himſelf with great ſpirit, and was continually at the head of his forces, beſieging caſtles, or marching to the relief of his friends. Among other exploits, he drove the biſhop of Ely out of that iſland, and ſeized all his riches. His uncle the biſhop of Saliſbury had died a little before of grief and anger at the loſs of his treaſures and caſtles, and had the additional torment of ſeeing the laſt remainder of his wealth, which he had depoſited in his cathedral at Sarum, taken from that church, while he lay on his death-bed, and delivered up to the king, by the canons themſelves.

There followed a number of military events, ſo little memorable in themſelves, and ſo confuſed both in time and place, that they could afford the reader little inſtruction or entertainment. The nation was diſtreſſed by oppoſite factions, who, under the pretence of the public cauſe, carried on the devaſtations with redoubled fury, and no bounds were ſet to their oppreſſions of the people. The caſtles of the nobility were become receptacles of licenſed robbers, who, ſallying forth day and night, plundered the open country, the villages, and even the cities; put the captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treaſures, and ſet fire to their houſes after they had pillaged them of every thing valuable. The land was left untilled; and a grievous famine, the natural conſequence of thoſe diſorders, equally affected both parties, and reduced them to the moſt extreme want and indigence.

After ſome negociations and treaties of peace, which produced no interruption in theſe deſtructive acts of hoſtility, one event at laſt ſeemed to promiſe an end to theſe calamities. Ralph earl of Cheſter, and William de Roumara, his half brother, being offended by Stephen, had ſurprized Lincoln caſtle; but the citizens, who favoured Stephen, inviting him to come to their aſſiſtance, he laid cloſe ſiege to it, in hopes of ſoon rendering himſelf maſter of the place, either by aſſault or famine. The earl of Glouceſter, concerned for the ſafety of his daughter, who was in the caſtle, and conſidering it as a point of importance to fix the two brothers in the empreſs's party, marched with a good body of forces to their relief, and being joined by the earl of Cheſter, who had eſcaped from the caſtle, and raiſed his vaſſals, reached Lincoln, when the caſtle was on the point of ſurrendering. The king on hearing of their approach, marched into a plain near the city. After a violent ſhock, the two wings of the royaliſts were put to flight, and Stephen who was in the centre, was at length ſurrounded, where he fought with the utmoſt bravery till his battle-ax, and afterwards his ſword being broken, he was taken priſoner, and kept in a ſafe and gentle confinement, by the earl of Glouceſter, who ordered that he ſhould be treated with great humanity.

This event ſeemed to decide the fate of the kingdom. The biſhop of Wincheſter now reſolved to throw off the maſk, and declare for Matilda.

Matilda. That princeſs permitted him to make his own terms, and on the ſecond of March 1141, before a numerous aſſembly of barons, of biſhops, of clergy, and of people, aſſembled in an open plain near Wincheſter, ſhe ſwore to him, that he ſhould have the direction of all the great affairs of the kingdom, and ſoon after ſummoning all the prelates and clergy of England, he declared her queen, and paſſed a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all the king's adherents.

The clergy having almoſt unanimouſly declared for Matilda, the greateſt part of England were induced, by their powerful influence, to follow their example. A few days before midſummer Matilda entered London, with a great train of ſpiritual and temporal lords, with her uncle the king of Scotland, who came to aſſiſt at her coronation. Mean while the earl of Glouceſter now negociated with the barons of the oppoſite faction, allured the haughty by careſſes, and the mercenary by promiſes; and all his deportment was full of humanity, moderation and courteſy. He tried to reform the adminiſtration of juſtice, to reſtore the good ancient laws; and had his ſiſter been guided by his wiſdom, the whole kingdom would ſoon have acknowledged her ſovereignty, without farther oppoſition; but all his endeavours were defeated by her conduct. From the time of the king's being made a priſoner, her looks, her mein, her language, were abſolutely changed. She aſſumed a moſt imperious air, and behaved in the moſt deſpotic manner.

manner. Some of Stephen's party, who came to offer her their allegiance and ſervice, ſhe received with great coldneſs, others ſhe drove from her preſence with upbraidings and threats. All the grants made by that prince, even thoſe to the church, ſhe precipitately revoked, to give them to her favourites. From thoſe who ſubmitted to her, ſhe often took a part of their lands as fines for their paſt conduct, and all the barons, who, from a ſenſe of honour and fidelity, delayed to abandon their late maſter, ſhe wholly deprived of their honours and eſtates, and conferred them on others. The citizens of London remonſtrating againſt the heavy impoſitions ſhe laid upon them, ſhe with rage in her eyes, frowns on her brow, and ſuch a diſorder of paſſions, as equally deſtroyed the majeſty of the queen and the ſoftneſs of the woman, told them, that they had laviſhly granted their money to Stephen, and muſt not expect her to ſhew any lenity to them, or remit the leaſt part of the ſum ſhe had demanded.

While the minds of the citizens were in this ferment, king Stephen's queen, a lady whoſe virtues, even his enemies honoured, endeavoured to procure his liberty upon the hard condition of reſigning the crown, and going into a convent, or to the Holy-land for the remainder of his life, which the chief lords of his party engaged he ſhould do, and offered her their caſtles and many hoſtages to ſecure the performance of this ſtipulation, which ſhe rejected with an air of diſdain. Stephen's queen on this repulſe, laid waſte the whole country

country under the walls of London; but at the ſame time, by her ſecret agents, invited the citizens to concur with her, and to make themſelves maſters of the perſon of Matilda. To this they conſented, and ſhe would have been taken priſoner in her palace of Weſtminſter, had ſhe not been informed of the danger, and retired to Oxford.

The biſhop of Wincheſter had been for ſome time extremely diſguſted at Matilda's behaviour; and after having a meeting with the queen his ſiſter-in-law at Guilford, abſolved thoſe whom he had before excommunicated for adhering to his brother Stephen; and by his agents and emiſſaries, ſent over the whole kingdom grievous complaints againſt the empreſs. This irritated the minds of the people, who alſo began to be ſtrongly agited by compaſſion; for the empreſs, exaſperated by the danger ſhe had been in at London, vented her rage on the perſon of her royal captive, whom ſhe laid in irons like a common malefactor, againſt the will of her brother the earl of Glouceſter. This excited ſuch a general indignation againſt her, as not a little aſſiſted to turn again on Stephen's ſide the often varying ſtream of popular favour.

Finding that the biſhop of Wincheſter was now her enemy, ſhe, without conſulting her brother, went with all the force ſhe had to ſurprize him in his caſtle there. The biſhop was ſo happy, as to leave the city on her entering it, and to eſcape into his caſtle, which was well provided for a long ſiege. Matilda inveſted

veſted that fortreſs, while ſhe herſelf remained in the royal palace of Wincheſter; and the forces ſhe had with her not being ſufficient to carry on the ſiege, ſhe ſummoned her adherents from all parts of the kingdom. On the other hand, the biſhop of Wincheſter called to his aſſiſtance all the friends of his brother, who came in ſuch numbers, that they compoſed an army much ſtronger than Matilda's, and ſtopped up all communication with the country. Under theſe difficulties ſhe perſevered in beſieging the legate, when, in order to revenge himſelf on the townſmen who favoured Matilda, he commanded fire-works to be thrown from the battlements of the tower, by which a great part of the city, the moſt magnificent then in England, and above twenty churches, with a nunnery and an abbey, were burnt to the ground. The miſerable citizens ſuffered no leſs by famine than by fire; the few proviſions they could any way obtain, being taken from them for the ſupport of the ſoldiers. Matilda now ſaw her army in great danger of being ſtarved, and feared, that ſhe might ſoon be reduced to the cruel neceſſity of yielding herſelf a priſoner to the wife of that king whom ſhe now held in irons, a misfortune which ſhe dreaded more than death. The biſhop having proclaimed a ceſſation of arms on the eve of Holy Rood-Day, the earl of Glouceſter took that opportunity to endeavour to retire from this fatal ſituation. Having committed Matilda to the care of his brother, the earl of Cornwall, he ſent her out of the town at break of day in the van

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of his army, with her uncle, the king of Scotland, and moſt of thoſe friends whoſe preſervation he thought of the greateſt importance, while he himſelf followed more ſlowly, with a rear guard of a few choſen troops. The biſhop of Wincheſter, the moment he got intelligence of their march, ſent his garriſon to purſue them: they joined the forces of Stephen's queen, and came up with the earl of Glouceſter at Stockbridge. That lord made a ſtand againſt them at the head of the bridge; but after a long and brave defence his troops were defeated, and he himſelf taken priſoner. Thus did he moſt generouſly ſacrifice himſelf for the ſafety of his ſiſter and ſovereign, though ſhe had brought the danger on herſelf by her wilful imprudence, in acting without his advice. By the delay occaſioned by this engagement, Matilda arrived ſafe at Glouceſter.

The queen cauſed the earl of Glouceſter to be treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and the greateſt propoſals were offered to engage him to join with Stephen, but to no purpoſe, and he was ſoon after ſet at liberty, in exchange for the king.

In 1142 the earl of Glouceſter went over to Normandy, where Geoffry Plantagenet had made himſelf maſter of a great part of that country, but as others continued in the cuſtody of Stephen's adherents, the earl aſſiſted him in taking ten caſtles; but was obliged to haſten his return to England: for Stephen, ſeizing the advantage of his being out of the kingdom, took Wareham caſtle, that of Cirenceſter, and

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two caſtles between that town and Oxford, and then unexpectedly appeared before that city. It was then ſurrounded by waters, ſo as to be thought inacceſſible, and the caſtle in which the empreſs reſided, was accounted impregnable. When his army was ſeen upon the outward banks of the river, the garriſon ſallied out, and confidently ſuppoſing it could not be paſſed, advanced to the brink, from whence they ſecurely infeſted his cavalry with ſhowers of arrows, and ſome of them derided him with ſcurrilous language. On this Stephen pointed out to his ſoldiers a part of the river where there had been a ford, then ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and plunged into it: the whole cavalry followed, and paſſing it, charged the enemy ſo fiercely, that they immediately broke them, and driving them into the city, entered it with them; and after ſetting fire to ſeveral parts of it, killed or took priſoners all the garriſon who could not gain admittance into the caſtle. This ſpirited action put Stephen in the poſſeſſion of a city, that muſt have coſt him many months to have reduced by a regular ſiege: but what gave him moſt joy was, the hopes that he ſhould make the imperious Matilda his captive, after being her's. He aſſaulted the caſtle furiouſly with battering engines, and at the ſame time ſhut up all acceſs to it from the country by the cloſeſt blockade. Matilda's invincible ſpirit inducing her to prefer death to captivity, ſhe now animated her garriſon by her example,

Matilda

Matilda was in this ſituation when the news of her danger reached the earl of Glouceſter, who took a haſty leave of the earl of Anjou, and with prince Henry, his nephew, ſet ſail for England. He arrived with about three or four hundred knights at Wareham, the garriſon of which ſurrendered to him, ſoon after he took the iſle of Portland, which Stephen had fortified, and alſo Lulworth caſtle. Finding that nothing could engage Stephen to abandon the great object he had in view; and that the empreſs's danger became every day more alarming, as ſhe had now been beſieged above two months, and began to be in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, he ſent a general ſummons to all her adherents to meet him at Cirenceſter, declaring his intention to lead them directly to Oxford. They came, and were on their march thither, when, to their infinite ſurpriſe and joy, they heard ſhe was ſafe in Wallingford caſtle.

It is ſaid, that the empreſs, reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of the neceſſaries of life, and deſpairing of ſuccour, went out of the caſtle by night, accompanied only by three knights of her houſhold, without the knowledge of the reſt of her garriſon; and being conducted by one of the enemy's army, whom ſhe had gained, paſſed over the Thames, which then happened to be frozen, and through the midſt of the king's troops, which were poſted very thick on the other ſide of the river, till, with great labour and difficulty, ſhe got ſafe to Abingdon, after having walked almoſt ſix miles

through a deep ſnow. Matilda had been often ſaved beyond all hopes, juſt when ſhe ſeemed on the very brink of deſtruction. She had indeed, a mind which could not bear proſperity; but that ſpirit which power rendered haughty and inſolent, was great in misfortune, and intrepid in danger.

During the reſt of the winter all was quiet, and the empreſs was paid for all ſhe had ſuffered, by the ſight of Henry her ſon, whom the earl of Glouceſter brought to her at Wallingford caſtle. He was afterwards carried to Briſtol, where he continued four years under the care of his uncle, who trained him up in ſuch exerciſes as were moſt proper to form his body for war, and in thoſe ſtudies which might embelliſh and ſtrengthen his mind.

Stephen was no ſooner informed of her being at Wallingford, than he offered terms to the garriſon of the caſtle of Oxford, which they accepted, and immediately ſurrendered it to him. He afterwards made a vain attempt on Wareham caſtle, which ended only in ruining the country about it. He then endeavoured to fortify a nunnery at Wilton, that was conveniently ſituated to bridle other caſtles and towns which were held for the empreſs in that part of the realm. This was authorized by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who, at the head of his vaſſals, attended the king, his brother, upon this ſervice, to which all the barons of their party were ſummoned, and many came; but while the reſt were on their march, the earl of Glouceſter collected his friends, and attacked the

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king with ſuch ſpirit at Wilton, that the greater part of his army was routed, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. All his baggage, with the gold and ſilver plate belonging to his table, were taken, and ſoon after the lately dejected Matilda ſaw herſelf miſtreſs of one half of the kingdom.

Her affairs, however, ſoon took a different turn, and Stephen, by gaining ſeveral places, obtained the aſcendant. The earl of Anjou, now apprehending danger to his ſon Henry, both from the prevailing arms of Stephen, and the treachery of his own adherents, ſent to deſire the earl of Glouceſter, to let him come over to Normandy. That earl, though unwilling to comply with that requeſt, ſubmitted to it, and parted with him at Wareham, never to ſee him more; for in 1146, the earl died of a fever, to the inexpreſſible loſs of Matilda, he being unqueſtionably the wiſeſt man of thoſe times; and his virtue was ſuch, that even thoſe times could not corrupt it. Matilda had no reſource that could ſupply the loſs of the earl of Glouceſter. Courage and reſentment ſtill combated in her heart with deſpair; but in leſs than four months after the death of her brother, ſeeing no poſſibility of ſupporting her party, and fearing to fall into the hands of her enemy, ſhe was conſtrained to abandon England, and to go into Normandy, to live with a huſband whom ſhe had never loved, and who did not love her; but was generous or prudent enough to receive her with kindneſs in this de-

cline of her fortune, when her pride was humbled by her ſorrow.

Stephen would have now enjoyed the quiet poſſeſſion of England, at leaſt till Henry would have been capable of diſputing it with him, if he had kept the earl of Cheſter his friend; but he loſt him, and ſeveral others of his moſt zealous adherents, by his ſuſpicions, and his treatment of them on that account, which ſtill kept up a party in England.

Henry was now ſixteen years old, and beginning to diſcover a manly vigour of body and mind, his friends earneſtly deſired his preſence in England. The king of Scotland had taken poſſeſſion of the three counties adjacent to his kingdom, for Matilda and Henry, her ſon, nor could Stephen drive him out of them. David was now willing to engage more heartily in Henry's cauſe, on condition of his yielding them to him and his heirs, free of homage to the crown of England. He therefore invited him over, with a promiſe of aid; upon which the earl of Anjou and Matilda ſent him into England, with a good body of choſen forces, both of horſe and foot. He landed ſafely, and marched into ſome of the weſtern counties, where being joined by ſeveral barons of note, they proceeded to the king of Scotland, who was then at Carliſle, at the head of an army. David received Henry with a tender affection, and during Whitſuntide feſtival, which was kept there with extraordinary pomp, that monarch conferred on Henry the honour of knighthood, which was then eſteem-

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ed neceſſary for princes, as ſoon as they were capable of bearing arms. But before he did this, he required him to take an oath never to reſume, from him or his heirs, any part of the three counties of which he had obtained poſſeſſion, and Henry took the oath preſcribed, and yielded thoſe provinces, in hopes of recovering the reſt of the kingdom by the aſſiſtance of the Scots.

After this Henry was put in poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Normandy, by his father, and he dying in 1151, bequeathed to him his three earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, except three caſtles which were given to Geoffry, his ſecond ſon.

Soon after Henry concluded a marriage, which brought him a great acceſſion of power. Eleanor, the daughter and heireſs of William duke of Guienne, and earl of Pictou, had been married ſixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a cruſade, which that monarch conducted againſt the infidels, But having loſt the affections of her huſband, who ſuſpected her of having an intrigue with a handſome ſaracen, and being of quite oppoſite diſpoſitions, he procured a divorce from her, under the pretence of conſanguinity, and reſtored thoſe rich provinces which, by her marriage, ſhe had annexed to the crown of France. On which the young Henry paid a ſucceſsful courtſhip to that princeſs, and marrying her ſix weeks after her divorce, obtained the poſſeſſion of all her dominions, as her dowry.

Mean while the affairs of England continued in the greateſt confuſion. Stephen, deſirous to enſure the crown to his ſon Euſtace, called together as many of the barons as he could aſſemble, with all the ſpiritual lords, to have the ſucceſſion ſettled on Euſtace; but with this they would not comply; and the biſhops with one voice refuſed their conſent. The rage of the king and of his ſon roſe even to phrenzy, when they found their deſign thus defeated by the biſhops; and to conquer their obſtinacy, Stephen gave orders, that they ſhould not be ſuffered to leave the houſe till they yielded to his demand. After ſome time, the primate got out, and made his eſcape into France. His brethren were then ſet at liberty; but their temporalities were all ſeized for the uſe of the king, which however were ſoon reſtored, he retaining thoſe only of the archbiſhop; and he was compelled ſoon after to recall that prelate to his ſee, by a ſentence of excommunication and interdict, which was to take place if this was not done within a limitted time.

At length, in 1153, Henry landed with an army in England, and took Malmeſbury, and then proceeded to throw ſuccours into Wallingford, which was beſieged. On this the king marched againſt him, and they encamped near each other; but while Stephen was preparing for a battle, the earl of Arundel, who was engaged in his cauſe, having aſſembled the Engliſh nobility and principal officers, made an animated ſpeech, in which he propoſed to put an end to the war, by an agreement, that Stephen

phen ſhould enjoy the crown during his life, and that it ſhould then deſcend to Henry. His ſpeech was received with great applauſe: the impreſſion it made upon the nobles and gentry was ſoon communicated to the ſoldiers, on which thoſe who had been moſt ardent to fight, threw down their arms, and loudly declared they wiſhed for a peace. The earl of Arundel then made the ſame propoſal to the king. Aſtoniſhment, rage and indignation choaked up the ſpeech of Euſtace. Stephen amazed, confounded, intimidated, after ſome pauſe, and conflict in his mind, yielded to an immediate ceſſation of arms, and to a conference with the duke, in order to a treaty.

The earl of Arundel made the ſame propoſal to the duke and his army; but Henry was at firſt averſe to it, imagining that Stephen, who was of a ſtrong conſtitution, and under fifty, might live many years, and that no ſincere or laſting peace would be procured by this means; but conſented to an interview with the king, and they met upon the oppoſite banks of the Thames, which is there very narrow, and conferred together a long time without any attendants, but parted without any deciſive agreement.

The greateſt obſtacle to a peace was prince Euſtace, who, at his father's return from the conference, upbraided him bitterly, for having had the abject complaiſance to treat with his enemy, and told him, that by liſtening to ſuch a propoſal, he would ſacrifice not only his ſon,

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but himſelf to a vain ſhadow of peace, and to the mere name of royalty.

The ceſſation of arms agreed to between Stephen and Henry being expired, the war was renewed; but Euſtace dying of a fever in 1153, a regular parliament was aſſembled at Wincheſter in the ſame year, in which it was agreed, that Stephen ſhould poſſeſs the crown during his life, that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in his name, even in the provinces which had ſubmitted to Henry; and that this laſt prince ſhould, on Stephen's deceaſe, ſucceed to the kingdom. There were alſo four ſeparate and ſecret articles, that Henry ſhould conſult the biſhop of Wincheſter in the buſineſs of the kingdom: that the king ſhould reſume what had been alienated to the nobles, or uſurped by them, of the royal demeſne; that all the caſtles built in this reign ſhould be pulled down: and that all foreign troops ſhould be ſent out of the kingdom.

Some time after this extraordinary agreement, Henry returned to Normandy, and Stephen made a progreſs through ſome of the counties remote from London, in which he affected to ſhew himſelf with all the ſtate of a king; and at the ſame time ſo far exerted the royal authority, as to cauſe ſeveral caſtles built during his reign, and which were become dens of thieves, and receptacles of villains of every kind, to be burnt to the ground before his eyes: but he ſpared many others that belonged to his friends. Theſe were the laſt memorable actions of his life: for he died in a convent at Dover,

Dover, where he went to meet the earl of Flanders, on the 25th of October 1154, in the fiftieth year of his age, leaving two legitimate children, a ſon and a daughter.

"The valour of this king, ſays the lord Lyttelton *, was much the moſt ſhining part of his character. In the field of battle he was a heroe, though every where elſe an ordinary man. But even his military abilities were chiefly confined to the uſe of his ſword and battle-axe. The extent of his genius was not proportioned to a great plan of action: his foreſight was ſhort and imperfect, his diſcipline looſe, and his whole conduct in war, that of an alert partiſan, rather than of a diſcreet and judicious commander.

He had ſome amiable virtues, as generoſity, clemency, and affability; which, under the direction of wiſdom and juſtice, would have given him a place among the beſt of our kings: but for want of thoſe lights to guide and rule them, they were unworthily, weakly, and hurtfully employed. His mind was very active, and always puſhing him on to bold undertakings, in which he ſeldom proved ſucceſsful: for ſetting out wrong, and having left the ſtrait path of honour and virtue, he got into a labyrinth of perplexed and crooked meaſures, out of which he could never afterwards extricate himſelf, either with reputation or ſafety.

* We have borrowed the following character of this prince from that noble and fine writer, in his life of Henry II. vol. 2. p. 273—277.

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The times and circumſtances in which he was placed, required a ſteady, calm, and reſolute prudence: but he acted only by ſtarts, and from the violent impulſe of ſome ſudden paſſion, always too eager for the object in view, and yet too lightly changing his courſe; too warm in his attachments, and too impetuous in his reſentments.

The guilt of his uſurpation was aggravated by perjury, and by the blackeſt ingratitude to his uncle king Henry, from whom he had received ſuch obligations as, to a mind endued with a right ſenſe of honour, would have been no leſs binding than the oaths he had taken. This was a ſtain on his character, which even the merit of a good government could not have effaced. But his was ſo bad, that it might have expelled a lawful king from an hereditary throne. Indeed, the weakneſs of his title, and the too great obligations he had to the clergy in his election, were incumbrances that hung very heavy upon him, and the original cauſes of all his troubles. Yet againſt both theſe difficulties, uneaſy as they were, he might have found a reſource in the affection of his people. Henry the Firſt, in the beginning of his reign, was no leſs indebted to the clergy than he, nor was his title more clear: notwithſtanding which he maintained himſelf in the throne, and kept the church in due obedience, by a government, popular without meanneſs, and ſtrong without violence. But bribes, and a ſtanding army of the moſt odious foreign mercenaries, were the wretched ſupports on which his ſucceſſor leaned,

ed, to ſecure a precarious and unnatural power. Inſtead of gradually trying to ſhake off the fetters which the church had impoſed upon him at his acceſſion to the crown, by the proper and legal aſſiſtance of parliament, he was continually weakening the royal authority, by farther conceſſions to the biſhops, in hopes of attaching them more firmly to his intereſt; and when he ventured to quarrel with them, he did it in a manner which hurt the privileges of his temporal barons no leſs than theirs, and made civil liberty appear to be intereſted in their defence. Thus he deſtroyed the only ground upon which he could ſtand, and changed the nature of the queſtion between him and Matilda, making her cauſe and her ſon's, the cauſe of the nation, inſtead of a perſonal claim of inheritance.

His private life was far better than his public conduct. He was a good huſband and a kind father: but to his children, as well as to his friends, he was too kind, and took no care to reſtrain the vices of their youth; a fault which is indeed moſt blameable in a king, becauſe of the miſchiefs it may bring upon his people.

Conſidering him in the moſt favourable lights, we ſhall find him unfit for a throne. If he had been only an earl of Mortagne and Boulogne, he might, perhaps, by his courage, liberality, and good-nature, have ſupported that rank with a very fair reputation. But no great idea can be formed of a monarch, whoſe whole conduct in government broke every rule

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of good and true policy: who having gained the crown he wore by the love of the nation, governed by a foreign miniſter and foreign arms; yet, at the ſame time, gave way to innovations, which rendered his ſubjects formidable to him; then by all the means of abſolute deſpotiſm, without regard to law or juſtice, endeavoured to ſubdue the power he had raiſed; and after having made his reign a long civil war, purchaſed at laſt a diſhonourable and joyleſs peace, by excluding his ſon from the ſucceſſion to the crown, adopting his enemy, and leaving himſelf little more than the vain pageantry and empty name of a king.

CHAP.

HENRY II.

CHAP. V.

HENRY II.

He comes to England, is received by the people with Joy, and crowned. The first Acts of his Reign. Life of Becket. Henry in Danger of being cut off with his Army in Wales. Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury; his Character; the Quarrel between the King and him; his Banishment, Return, and Murder. Henry proves his Innocence to the Pope. The Conquest of Ireland. Revolt of Prince Henry and his Brothers. The King performs Penance at Becket's Tomb. William King of Scotland taken Prisoner. Henry raises the Siege of Rouen. His Sons again rebel. The Death of young Henry and Geoffry. Prince Robert again revolts. The Death and Character of King Henry. Miscellaneous Observations.

ON the death of Stephen, Henry Plantagenet was the unquestionable king of England. He was besieging a castle in Normandy, which had revolted against him, when he received intelligence of Stephen's death. The lords of his council advised him to hasten to England, for fear his enemy should take advantage of his absence to excite some disorders; but he could not be persuaded to raise the siege, till the castle had been forced to surrender at dis-

cretion, which it did in a few days. For he knew that he had eſtabliſhed his power in England on ſuch a ſolid foundation, that his preſence was not neceſſary; and therefore it was wiſe in him not to leave behind him any root of rebellion. He then went to Rouen to confer with his mother, who prudently agreed to continue in that dutchy, and not go with him to England, where ſhe was not beloved.

At length Henry, with Eleanor his queen and his two brothers, repaired, with a moſt ſplendid train of nobility, to Barfleur, where they intended to embark; but the winds being contrary, they were detained there a month, during which no diſorders happened in England. Henry was however uneaſy at ſo long a delay; and the firſt moment that the wind would permit, he put to ſea in ſuch weather that his fleet was diſperſed, and he was in ſome danger of being ſhip-wrecked; but the ſtorm abating, he landed in the New-foreſt near Hurſt caſtle, on the ſeventh of December 1154, about ſix weeks after Stephen's deceaſe.

Upon Henry's arrival at Wincheſter, the nobility, the prelates and gentry crowded to meet him from all parts of the kingdom; not only as their ſovereign, but as their deliverer. His journey from thence to London appeared a continued triumphal proceſſion, and that city itſelf, which had been always the moſt attached to Stephen, received him with the higheſt marks of affection. On the nineteenth of December, he and his queen were crowned in Weſtminſter abbey, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury,

terbury, without any other terms being offered him, but the uſual oath of the ancient kings of England. Nor did he condeſcend, as Stephen had done, to apply to the pope for a confirmation of his title, being ſenſible that Rome would avail herſelf of it, againſt the independence and dignity of his crown. He was determined to fix his throne on thoſe much ſtronger pillars, the laws of his country, and the love of his people. To obtain that love, he did not ſtoop to the low arts of popularity; he neither debaſed the majeſty of his crown, exhauſted his treaſures, relaxed the vigor of government, nor plunged the nation into exceſſes of luxury and riot; but diſtributed impartial juſtice indiſcriminately to all his ſubjects. He perceived that, to raiſe again the glory of his kingdom, it was firſt neceſſary to reſtore concord and union among his people, to allay all heats, to quiet all fears, and to extinguiſh the remembrance of their former diviſions; and his conduct was ſuch, as ſatisfied even thoſe who had moſt violently oppoſed his mother or himſelf. Thus he happily prevented the rage of deſpair from diſturbing his government, and healed thoſe wounds which a leſs gentle treatment would have rendered incurable; yet, at the ſame time, he eminently diſtinguiſhed and rewarded the zeal of thoſe friends, who had been the moſt faithful ſupports of his party.

Henry, ſoon after his coronation, had a meeting of parliament, to adviſe with them concerning the ſtate of his kingdom; when it was

reſolved, that thoſe parts of the treaty of Wincheſter, which Stephen had left unperformed, ſhould be immediately executed, beginning with the firſt capital article of ſending away the foreign troops which had long fattened on the ſpoils of the nation. Many of their officers had acquired great eſtabliſhments in it, particularly their general William of Ipres, to whom Stephen had given the earldom of Kent, with all the wealth that the bounty of a moſt prodigal monarch could beſtow on a favourite. Others had been rewarded according to their rank, with liberal grants out of the royal demeſnes, or the confiſcations of the oppoſite party. Henry immediately put the reſolutions of parliament in execution, commanding them all to leave the realm on pain of death, before a certain day appointed in the edict. When the day came, not one foreign ſoldier was to be ſeen in the kingdom: their general himſelf had gone with them, diſpoſſeſſed of his earldom and other honours in England, the loſs of which he bewailed with tears of rage; and being unable to bear this ſudden change of fortune, forſook the world, and became a monk at Laon, in Flanders, where he died a great penitent.

The expulſion of theſe veteran forces, who had been ſo long the terror of the people of England, ſeemed to ſecure their liberty and repoſe. Henry then deſtroyed the caſtles which Stephen, againſt the faith he had given, had kept undemoliſhed, except a few, that from their ſituation

were

were thought neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom.

Henry's next undertaking was attended with greater difficulties. Stephen's extravagance, and the inſatiable demands of his faction, had induced him to alienate ſo much of the ancient demeſne of the crown, that the remaining eſtate was not ſufficient to maintain the royal dignity. Some royal cities, and forts of great importance, had been alſo granted away, and could not be ſuffered to continue in the hands of the nobles, without conſiderably impairing the ſtrength of the crown, and endangering the peace of the kingdom. Among the reſumeable grants, there were ſome of Matilda's, who following the example ſet her by Stephen, gave away certain parts of the eſtate of the crown, to reward her adherents; and much more had been uſurped by the barons of both parties, without any other warrant than the licence of the times.

Henry knew that a reſumption would raiſe much diſcontent in thoſe affected by it, but he choſe to ſtand their ill-humour with reaſon and law on his ſide, rather than to remain a needy king, or to relieve his neceſſities by oppreſſing his people. Nor was he diſpleaſed to leſſen, by this means, that exorbitant wealth which rendered ſome of his ſubjects the rivals of his own greatneſs. He therefore ſummoned a parliament, in which almoſt all his nobles were preſent; and having laid before them the wants of the crown, the loſſes it had ſuffered, the illegality of the grants, and the urgent

neceſſity of a ſpeedy reſumption, obtained their concurrence to it, and proceeded to put it into immediate execution. The ſpirit of faction was ſo much over-awed by the vigour of his government, that he met with leſs oppoſition than he had reaſon to expect; for very near all that had been granted to laymen, or uſurped by them from the royal demeſne, was, after a little delay, delivered to him without bloodſhed.

Some of the nobles, however, made a little reſiſtance. Theſe were a few of the greateſt barons. The earl of Albemarle, who had ruled Yorkſhire with more authority than Stephen himſelf, who had made him earl of that county, could not bear the thought of reſtoring to the crown all he had gained from the weakneſs of the late reign. He had powerful connections, with an extenſive credit and intereſt; nor had any other nobleman ſtronger caſtles or more warlike vaſſals. But Henry paſſing the Humber, came upon him while he was deliberating, and brought him by the terror, his preſence inſpired, to a quiet ſubmiſſion and ſurrender of all his grants, particularly of Scarborough caſtle, which he had rendered one of the ſtrongeſt in England.

While this nobleman had been plotting a revolt in the north, Roger de Mortimer, his couſin german, acting in concert with him, had determined to maintain his own title to the royal caſtles of Bridgenorth, Wigmore, and Clebury, which being ſeated in the borders of Wales, where he had great power, he hoped

hoped to defend them againſt all the forces of the king, with the aſſiſtance of his northern confederate, and the young earl of Hereford, whom he had perſuaded to join with him in this rebellion. That lord was highly offended, that Matilda's ſon ſhould reſume from him thoſe grants with which ſhe had recompenſed the important ſervices of his father; and thought it very unjuſt that no difference ſhould be made between the gratuities which an uſurper had given to the king's enemies, and the rewards which the king's mother had beſtowed upon one, who, next to the earl of Glouceſter, had been the chief ſupport of her party. But Henry knew, that to have made a diſtinction between the grants of Matilda and Stephen, would have revived the former animoſities, and have had the appearance of his acting from motives, not of royal œconomy, but of party revenge: whereas, by this equal and impartial proceeding, he left the adherents of Stephen no cauſe to complain, or apprehend any ill uſage in other reſpects, on account of their paſt conduct. However, the earl of Hereford, heated by youth and the inſtigations of Mortimer, ſecretly left the court, with a reſolution to defend the tower of Glouceſter and the caſtle of Hereford, againſt Henry's claim, and procuring ſome troops from Wales, flattered himſelf, that by acting in conjunction with Mortimer, he ſhould be able to engage the whole ſtrength of the marches and adjacent counties, in the ſupport of his cauſe. But Gilbert Foliot, biſhop of Hereford, a wiſe and virtuous prelate, went

went to the earl of Hereford, whose kinsman he was, and prevailed on him to give up the two castles. Upon which Henry not only pardoned, but restored him to favour, remembering his father's merit, and being sensible, that there was something hard in his case that might excuse him.

However, Mortimer, though abandoned by his friends, would not lay down his arms. Henry led a great army against him divided into three bodies, with which he at once assaulted the three castles of Bridgenorth, Wigmore and Clebury; and though it was thought that each would stand a long siege, they were all surrendered to him in a short time. Henry himself commanded at that of Bridgenorth, which was defended by Mortimer; and the king exposed himself to such danger, that he would have been slain, had not a faithful servant preferred his life to his own. For while he was giving orders too near the wall, Hubert de St. Clare, governor of Colchester castle, who stood by his side, seeing an arrow aimed at him by one of Mortimer's archers, stepped before him, and received it in his own breast. The wound was mortal, and this affectionate servant expired in the arms of his prince, recommending to his care his infant daughter, who was his only child. It is difficult to determine which most deserves admiration, a subjects who died to save his king, or a king, whose personal virtues could render his safety so dear to a subject, whom he had not obliged by any extraordinary favours. Hubert's daughter was educated

educated by Henry with all the affection that was due to the memory of her father; and when ſhe had arrived at maturity, was married to William de Longueville, a nobleman of great diſtinction, on condition of his aſſuming the name of St. Clare, which Henry's gratitude was deſirous of perpetuating.

Mortimer on being obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, had no hopes of favour from an exaſperated prince, whoſe power he alone had preſumed to defy. His haughty ſpirit now ſunk, and he humbly ſupplicated for mercy. This was enough, Henry was ſatisfied; and forgiving his revolt, left him in the poſſeſſion of all his honours and eſtates, except thoſe that belonged to the royal demeſne.

Thus was this arduous and important buſineſs concluded, in which the king had adorned the beginning of his reign with the proofs of two royal virtues, great firmneſs and great clemency; by the happy union of which the peace and proſperity of a government are chiefly ſupported. The tranquility of the kingdom being thus ſecured, Henry called a parliament in 1155, to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown after his deceaſe, upon his eldeſt ſon William; and in caſe of his death, which indeed happened ſoon after, upon prince Henry, a ſecond ſon, born at London in the month of March this year. From this and from many other facts, ſays the lord Lyttelton, it may with certainty be affirmed, that no right of birth, however indiſputable, was in thoſe days, thought a ſufficient title to convey the ſucceſſion without

out a parliamentary acknowledgement: for, if the crown deſcended of courſe to the king's eldeſt ſon, it would not have been neceſſary to ſummon a parliament meerly on this account. In another parliament held, ſoon after this at London, Henry granted to his people a charter of liberties, confirming that of his grand-father king Henry I.

Thus by the magnanimity of this excellent prince was this kingdom, which had ſuffered equally by tyranny and faction, completely re-eſtabliſhed in thoſe legal rights, which were the proper fences to guard it from both theſe evils. Henry was not content with having reſtored good laws to his people, he enforced the execution of them; a taſk of no ſmall difficulty, as it required the ſpirit, the reſolution, and the fervour and zeal for the public ſervice, with which his mind was endued. During the reign of his predeceſſor, the law had been an empty name; for where it was not abſolutely controuled by violence, the partiality of party, and the iniquity of the times, corrupted the whole adminiſtration of juſtice. In appeals to the crown, the king had not power to give the ſuitors relief, Matilda's friends denied his authority, and he durſt not exert it againſt his own adherents, leſt it ſhould provoke them to leave him. Nor was the lives of his ſubjects more ſecure than their properties. The ſword of every ruffian was ſtronger than that of the magiſtrate; and the moſt notorious criminals found, not only protection, but reward and advancement, if to their private crimes they

joined

joined a remorſeleſs and daring alacrity in carrying on the horrors of civil war. Henry applied his utmoſt endeavours to ſubdue the prevailing habits of licentiouſneſs; and to accompliſh the heroic work of reſtoring the purity and vigour of juſtice, and ſettling good order, good morals, and good diſcipline, he attended perſonally at the judgment of all the greater cauſes in his own court, and made frequent progreſſes into the ſeveral counties. The meaneſt peaſant who ſued for juſtice againſt the higheſt nobleman, was favourably heard, and obtained from the king a ſpeedy redreſs of his wrongs. Robbers and free-booters were put to death without mercy, and every other breach of the peace was corrected with exemplary puniſhment. Thus inteſtine troubles being removed, the huſbandman, the manufacturer, and the merchant, returned to their occupations; the towns and villages were repeopled; agriculture and commerce revived and flouriſhed; virtue and religion were promoted and encouraged. Such were the conſequences of Henry's beneficent government.

Henry entruſted the adminiſtration to perſons of the moſt approved and eminent merit. The poſt of grand juſticiary was not uſually filled in that age by a layman, at leaſt without ſome prelate being joined in commiſſion with him; but Henry, who found the clergy too powerful, did not think it adviſeable to ſtrengthen them ſtill more, by ſuch an addition of power as that office gave. He therefore joined two laymen in the commiſſion, Robert de Bellamont,

mont, earl of Leiceſter, and Richard de Lucy. The king treated the archbiſhop of Canterbury with great regard, and allowed him a principal ſhare in the adminiſtration of government, which he deſerved by the ſervices he had done him in affairs of the higheſt importance, and by the cordial affection which he bore to his perſon. He was a man whom experience and knowledge of buſineſs, rather than genius, had made a miniſter of ſtate, and being now grown old and weary of faction, as well as diſinclined to quarrel with a ſovereign whom he loved, he tried to keep the church and ſtate as quiet as he could, which was all that Henry deſired, till by a continual encreaſe of evils ariſing from the unwarranted pretenſions of the clergy, he was compelled to attempt a reformation of thoſe abuſes for the ſake of civil ſociety.

On the primate's recommendation, Thomas Becket was raiſed to the office of chancellor. This was the moſt extraordinary man of that age. His father and anceſtors were citizens of London, and his education ſeems intended to qualify him for the church. He ſtudied at Merton abbey, and afterwards at Paris. On his return from thence, he was employed as a clerk in the ſheriff's office in London, whence he was introduced to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who finding him a youth of uncommon parts, with a graceful and winning addreſs, gave him the livings of St. Mary le Strand, and Otteford in Kent; and obtained for him two prebends in the cathedrals of London and Lincoln. Theſe benefices he probably held

held by the pope's diſpenſation, he being then only in deacon's orders. Being deſirous to qualify himſelf for greater preferments, he prevailed on his patron to ſend him to Bologna, the moſt famous univerſity in the world for the ſtudy of the canon and civil law, which of all the ſciences was moſt likely to procure his advancement, either in the church or ſtate. After ſtaying there a year, he went to Auxerre, in Burgundy, where thoſe laws were alſo taught, and returned into England well ſkilled in them, but with ſtill ſuperior talents for negociation. This being diſcovered by the archbiſhop, he ſent him ſoon after to the pope, to get the legative power reſtored to the ſee of Canterbury, and he performed this commiſſion with ſuch dexterity and ſucceſs, that the archbiſhop entruſted to him his moſt ſecret intrigues with the court of Rome, and particularly the ſoliciting from the pope thoſe prohibitary letters againſt the ſucceſſion of prince Euſtace, by which that deſign was defeated. This gave him great merit, not only with the prelate by whom he was employed, but alſo with Henry, and was the firſt foundation of his high fortune. On his return to England, the archbiſhop made him provoſt of Beverley, and dean of Haſtings; and juſt before Stephen's death, the ſame prelate made him archdeacon of Canterbury.

Theſe were only the beginnings of his advancement; for immediately after Henry's acceſſion, he was, at the requeſt of his patron, made the king's chancellor, which muſt have

been extremely agreeable to the Engliſh, as he was the firſt of that nation ſince the latter years of the reign of William the Conqueror, on whom any great office, either in the church or ſtate, had been conferred.

At this time the chancellor of England had no diſtinct court of judicature, but acted together with the juſticiary and other great officers, in matters of the revenue, at the exchequer, and ſometimes in the counties upon circuits. The great ſeal being in his cuſtody, he ſuperviſed and ſealed writs and precepts, and all charters. He had alſo the principal direction and management of all foreign affairs, performing moſt of the buſineſs that is now done by the ſecretaries of ſtate. Such was the high office to which Becket was raiſed.

Though the biſhop of Wincheſter had hoped to govern the kingdom, he had no other ſhare in the miniſtry but being called to the council, where his opinion was ſeldom followed. Henry was too honeſt to love, too wiſe to truſt him; and too ſtrong in the eſteem and affection of the public, to fear his reſentment. Diſguſted at this neglect, and imagining, perhaps, that by intriguing with the pope or the king of France, he might be able to revenge himſelf againſt Henry, with greater ſafety abroad than by remaining in England, he left the kingdom with his treaſures, without the permiſſion of his ſovereign, who immediately ordered, that all the ſix caſtles belonging to him in England, ſhould be demoliſhed. This inſtantly broke all his military power in this king-

kingdom, and ſhewed a vigour in the government, which deterred even the clergy from eſpouſing his quarrel. As he did not meet with the ſupport abroad he expected, he ſued for leave to return to his biſhopric, which Henry, who had ſufficiently puniſhed and humbled him, was willing to grant, but confined him to his bare epiſcopal duties. In this retirement, ſo unſuitable to his temper, he pined ſome years, almoſt forgotten by the public, after having made and unmade kings, and governed with more than regal power.

It has been already mentioned in what manner David, king of Scotland, had gained poſſeſſion of the three northern counties, and had brought Henry to take an oath, that he would not reſume them on his recovering the throne of his anceſtors. It appeared to the Engliſh, that the Scots had made this acquiſition by taking advantage of the weakneſs of England, and the diſtreſs of the royal family in a time of civil war, and Henry's council ſuppoſed, that he might with equal policy, and with more juſtice, take advantage of the weak ſtate of Scotland. The oath Henry had taken was the ſole impediment which ſtood in his way, but againſt this he might plead, that it had been impoſed upon him when his tender age and inexperience were ſtrong objections againſt its validity, eſpecially as the alienation of thoſe dominions had not been agreed to by the ſtates of the kingdom, whoſe conſent was neceſſary to confirm an act of this nature; and that the only inducement he could have to take ſuch an

oath, was the efficacious aſſiſtance which David had engaged to give him in England, by making an offenſive war againſt Stephen; but as that engagement was not kept, he was conſequently freed from his part of the compact. His ambaſſadors therefore demanded their reſtitution, which was readily complied with.

Henry, not ſatisfied with having regained the three counties, inſiſted that Malcolm ſhould acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal for Lothian. This earldom, in which all the eaſtern parts of Scotland between the Tweed and the Firth of Forth were then comprehended, had been granted by Edgar, one of the greateſt of the Saxon king's, to Kenneth the Third, under condition of homage; and it does not appear, that either he or his ſucceſſors had ever been releaſed from that vaſſalage. Malcolm agreed likewiſe to this demand, and in return Henry conferred on him the earldom of Huntingdon.

In 1156 Henry went abroad to oppoſe the attempts of his brother Geoffry, who, during his abſence, had made an incurſion into Anjou and Maine, to which provinces he laid claim, and had obtained poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of them. On the king's appearance, the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffry reſigning his claim for an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds Engliſh money, and two thouſand Angeven *, with all the lands belonging

* The lord Lyttelton obſerves, "that this ſum "was equal to an income of 22,500 l. of our mo- "ney

longing to the caſtles; he departed and took poſſeſſion of the earldom of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled Hoel their prince, put into his hands. Henry returned to England the following year.

Soon after Henry was ſtrongly excited to carry his arms into Wales, all Powis-land, except ſome diſtricts between the Wye and the Severn, which were held of his crown by the earl of Cheſter and other Engliſh barons, was then under the government of Madoc ap Meredyth, Henry's friend and vaſſal, who excited him to take arms againſt Owen Gwyneth, prince of North Wales, and theſe inſtigations were ſtrongly enforced by Cadwallader, Owen's brother. Henry thought that it would be a reproach and a ſtain to his honour, ſhould he any longer ſuffer a petty prince of North Wales, whoſe predeceſſors had been formerly tributaries and vaſſals to England, to hold his dominions independent of him. He therefore having drawn out of the whole militia of England a very great army, marched through Cheſhire into Flintſhire, and advanced towards Baſingwerk, a caſtle built by the earl of Cheſter, which the Welch in the late reign had taken and demoliſhed. Near this place Owen Gwyneth lay encamped, and ſeemed determined to ſtay and give battle to the king; but this was only an artifice to draw the Engliſh into a narrow and difficult paſs between two ranges of

" ney in theſe days, beſides the revenues ariſing from " the lands."

hills, where he had ſecretly placed a numerous ambuſcade under the command of his ſons. Henry confiding too much in the ſtrength of his army, and not ſufficiently conſulting thoſe who had a more perfect knowledge of the country, fell into the ſnare, and paid dearly for his raſhneſs. When he and his van-guard were engaged in the middle of theſe ſtreights, the Welch riſing at once with the moſt horrible outcries from under the cover of the woods that hung over the ſteep and rocky ſides of the paſs, aſſaulted them with ſtones, arrows, and other miſſive weapons. The advantage of the place, the confuſion into which they were thrown, the diſmay that came upon them, quite diſabled them from reſiſting this unexpected attack. Euſtace Fitz-John, and Robert de Courcy, two great barons being ſlain, and Henry finding it impoſſible to advance any farther, endeavoured to retire back to the entrance of the ſtreights, which with much difficulty he performed; but moſt of the troops which had compoſed his van-guard, were miſerably deſtroyed before he was able to diſengage either them or himſelf from this fatal ſituation. Some, who eſcaped by flight, carried their fear along with them, and meeting the reſt of the army, who were advancing in good order, to the entrance of the paſs, ſpread a report of the king's death: upon which Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer of England, was ſeized with ſuch terror, that he threw the royal ſtandard to the ground, crying aloud, "the king is ſlain!" The conſternation became general; the troops

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fell into diſorder; the Welch perceiving it, iſſued forth and attacked them with great fury; the whole army would have been ſhamefully routed, if at that inſtant, Henry had not ſhewn himſelf, and with a countenance full of alacrity, encouraged, rallied, and led them on to the charge; when animated by the joy of ſeeing him ſafe, they quickly drove the enemy back into the wood.

The king then drew off his forces, and having encamped in a place where he had nothing to fear, deliberated with his barons and other principal officers, on the meaſures he ſhould purſue in proſecuting the war againſt ſuch dangerous enemies, whoſe valour was ſo prudently conducted. The plan he now formed was to leave upon his left the woody hills, through which he had ſo unhappily attempted to paſs, and march along the ſea-ſhore till he ſhould get beyond Baſingwerk, to the back of the poſt the Welch had taken; at the ſame time ordering his fleet to cruize along the coaſt, and make deſcents upon the open parts of the country.

Owen, on being informed of theſe revolutions, retired to a ſtrong poſt in the mountains of Snowden, where he encamped. Henry immediately ſubdued all Flintſhire; and to ſecure his poſſeſſion, made roads for an army to paſs without difficulty through the whole province; cut down the woods; rebuilt the important caſtles of Ruthland and Baſingwerk; began that of Flint, and founded a houſe for the knights templars, which was a new kind of garriſon,

riſon, before unknown in that country, but as uſeful as any other to bridle the Welch.

While he was thus employed, Owen dreading the conſequences of their being compleated, came down from the mountains, and advanced to the borders of Flintſhire. Several ſkirmiſhes afterwards happened between the two armies, but no general action; Owen being afraid to venture a battle in an open country, and Henry, inſtructed by the loſs he had ſuſtained, as carefully avoided expoſing himſelf or his army to any more ambuſcades.

In the mean time a great fleet aſſembled at Cheſter by his orders, ſailed from that harbour, and aſſiſted his operations in Flintſhire; after which he ſent it to infeſt the other coaſts of North-Wales, under the command of Madoc ap Meredyth. Some of the forces of that prince, in conjunction with the Engliſh, made a deſcent on the iſle of Angleſey, where they ravaged the country without reſiſtance; but as they were returning to their ſhips, overloaded with ſpoils, the whole ſtrength of the iſle ſuddenly attacked and cut them to pieces. Owen, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, on finding himſelf unable to hinder the Engliſh from deſolating the moſt fertile parts of his maritime provinces, and preventing the importation of corn from abroad, became very uneaſy, for fear of wanting proviſions, ſhould he either remain long in the poſt he had taken, or ſhut himſelf up with his army in the deſerts of Snowden. He therefore ſued for peace, which Henry granted him, on condition of his doing him homage,

homage, yielding up all the diſtricts and caſtles in North Wales, which had been taken from the Engliſh, during the reign of king Stephen, and delivering two of his ſons as hoſtages for his future fidelity. He alſo obliged him to reſtore the lands he had taken from his brother Cadwallader.

Having obtained theſe great points, and put ſtrong garriſons in the caſtles of Ruthlan and Baſingwerk, he left the remains of the war to be proſecuted by the lords of the marches, againſt the inferior Welch princes, who, he ſuppoſed, would not long continue in arms after Owen had ſubmitted. Nor was he miſtaken; for, at the beginning of the following year, all the princes of South Wales, except Rhees ap Gryffyth, and all the leſſer chieftains of that country, came to him in England, and received from him the conditions of a peace, which he granted them on their ceding to him all the territories, which had been won from the crown or ſubjects of England, in the reign of his predeceſſor, and doing him homage for their own patrimonial eſtates.

However, no perfect ſettlement could be made of South Wales, while Rhees ap Gryffyth remained unconquered. That prince commanded his people to remove their flocks, herds, and other effects, to the deſcent of Tywy, and though deſerted and betrayed by all his confederates, made war on the king of England. Henry, who had an eſteem for him, on account of his courage and magnanimity, ſent him a friendly invitation to come to his court,

court, with an aſſurance, that he ſhould be kindly received; but threatened, if he refuſed that favour, that the whole power of England and Wales ſhould be employed to bring him thither. That prince having conſulted his friends, and being perſuaded to go, followed their advice, and the king receiving his homage, gave him the ancient demeſne of his anceſters in South Wales, but not without taking from him, as hoſtages for his fidelity, two of his ſons; the ſame ſecurity having been exacted from all the other Welch princes. Thus Henry had the honour of concluding this troubleſome and dangerous war, and of recovering all the Engliſh poſſeſſions which Stephen had loſt within the confines of Wales, and likewiſe of reſtoring to England, its ſovereignty over the whole nation, by forcing its princes to hold their territories as vaſſals under homage and fealty.

In 1158 Henry compleated a great and difficult work which he had begun two years before, that is, reſtoring the money of his kingdom to its due weight and fineneſs. From the continual wants and diſorders of government during king Stephen's reign, it had been ſo debaſed, that Henry was obliged, for the ſake of the national commerce, to call in the whole and recoin it. There was alſo melted down all the money which, during the late unhappy times of confuſion, the barons, uſurping the exerciſe of royal authority, had dared to coin in their own names.

England now enjoying a perfect tranquillity, Henry went over to Normandy, where ſome important affairs demanded his preſence. Geoffry, the king's brother, died ſoon after he had acquired poſſeſſion of Nantz, by the election and voluntary ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants; and Henry laying claim to the territory, went over to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms. Conan, duke of Britanny, pretended that Nantz had been lately ſeparated from his principality to which it belonged, by rebellion, and immediately on Geoffry's death, took poſſeſſion of that territory. Leſt Lewis the French king ſhould interpoſe, Henry ſet on foot a negociation for a treaty of marriage between prince Henry, his eldeſt ſon, and Margaret, the daughter of Lewis, though the prince was but five years of age, and the French princeſs was ſtill in her cradle; but it was the mode of the times to cement alliances by contracts between royal infants. The offer was joyfully accepted by Lewis, who thought it both advantageous and honourable; and Conſtantia, his ſecond wife, moſt paſſionately deſired it, having no greater object of ambition than to procure for her daughter the inheritance of the kingdom of England, and the other territories poſſeſſed by the houſe of Plantaganet. Beſides the advantage of not being moleſted in his pretenſions to Nantz, he hoped, by means of this alliance, to recover the Norman Vexin, which had been ceded by his father to Lewis le Gros. This territory was a frontier of great importance, that contained a chain

chain of forts, which, if united to the dutchy of Normandy, would form a good barrier for the defence of that country, but remaining in the hands of the king of France, would expoſe it to continual danger. Henry therefore propoſed, that theſe places ſhould be given by that prince, as a portion with his daughter. This negociation was carried on, and ſucceſsfully concluded by Becket; after which Lewis, to expreſs the ſatisfaction he felt, in the union of the two families, invited Henry to come to Paris, and receive the princeſs himſelf. The propoſal was agreeable. Henry went thither, and was entertained with all the honours that the utmoſt civility of thoſe times could deviſe. He received them with an amiable and graceful politeneſs; but, as much as poſſible, avoided all pompous forms and ceremonies; his mind being too great, and his underſtanding too ſolid, to be fond of ſuch pageantry.

In 1159 Henry avowed his reſolution to revive the pretenſions of his queen to the earldom of Toulouſe, which Lewis himſelf, when huſband to Eleanor, had thought well founded. For William VIII. duke of Aquitaine, who was grand-father to that princeſs, had married the daughter and heireſs of the earl of Toulouſe, and by that marriage it was annexed to that dutchy: but that prince, on account of his engagement in the Cruſade, mortgaged it to his wife's uncle Raymond earl of St. Giles, who thereupon aſſumed the title of earl of Toulouſe, and the mortgage remaining unredeemed, left the earldom to his ſon Alphonſo.

But

But Lewis having married the heireſs of Aquitaine, claimed it in right of his wife. The diſpute was, however, quieted by the intervention of the holy-war, and Alponſo dying at Jeruſalem, the French king renewed his claim againſt Raymond, the ſon of Alphonſo. All the rights of the dutchy of Aquitain, being afterwards conveyed from Lewis to Henry, by the marriage of the latter to Eleanor, he had a right to purſue his pretenſions to that earldom. Yet he did not rely ſo much on the juſtneſs of his cauſe, as not to ſtrengthen himſelf, as much as poſſible, by confederating with all thoſe who were able to oppoſe Raymond. In order to raiſe a conſiderable army, he levied upon his vaſſals in Normandy and other provinces, a ſum of money, in lieu of their ſervice, and then returning to England, held a great council, or parliament in the city of Worceſter, where he kept his Eaſter feſtival. The barons of England engaged chearfully in ſupport of the king's pretenſions to the earldom of Toulouſe, though they might have refuſed it, as it, certainly, was not a war, wherein this kingdom was obliged to take any part, either by alliance or intereſt; but all Henry's ſubjects had ſuch a regard for him, that they thought his greatneſs their own, and all his nobility followed him in this expedition with incredible ardour. Henry had prevailed on Lewis, to promiſe him, that he would take no part in this quarrel; but the earl of Toulouſe rouſed that king from his lethargy, by repreſenting to him the danger he was in from

the ambition of Henry; and as the emotions of his mind were always ſudden and violent, he threw himſelf into the city of Toulouſe, with only a few ſoldiers, and regardleſs of the danger, reſolved to defend it to the laſt ex-extremity.

Henry at hearing of this, was much ſurprized and embarraſſed. Becket adviſed him to march without delay, and aſſault Toulouſe, which the garriſon being weak, might be eaſily taken, and with it a more important and more glorious prize, the perſon of Lewis himſelf: but others of the council objected, that it would be too criminal a violation of the feudal allegiance, for a vaſſal to take and hold in captivity the perſon of his lord. Henry rejected the opinion of Becket, and inſtead of laying ſiege to Toulouſe, while Lewis was in that city, declared, that out of reſpect to the perſon of the king, he would not beſiege it. He however made war on all the other territories of earl Raymond, and in leſs than three months, conquered the greateſt part of the earldom of Toulouſe. He afterwards marched into Normandy, to protect that province againſt an incurſion, which the count of Dreux, by his brother Lewis's order, made upon it; but no memorable event was produced.

Becket performed great ſervices in this war as a commander; for he brought into the field ſeven hundred knights, all of his own houſhold, and each of them was attended by a ſquire, and theſe were eſteemed the braveſt ſoldiers in the king's army, charging firſt, and behaving

behaving with the greateſt intrepidity in every engagement. Nor was the chancellor himſelf leſs active. When the king went into Normandy, he was left in the Quercy to defend Cahors, and the other conqueſts made in that province; but he did more: at the head of his troops, he took by ſtorm three caſtles which were thought impregnable, and on that account, had been left unattempted by Henry. He alſo made inroads into the earldom of Toulouſe. After performing theſe ſervices, he left his houſhold forces to garriſon the forts he had taken, as well as thoſe which the king had committed to his cuſtody, and re-joined that prince in Normandy, bringing with him twelve hundred knights, and four thouſand ſtipendiaries of an inferior degree, which he hired at his own expence, to ſerve under him there forty days. During part of his warfare, he engaged in a ſingle combat Engelran de Trie, a French knight of diſtinguiſhed valour, diſmounted him with his lance, and gained his horſe, which he led off in great triumph.

In December 1160, a peace was concluded to Henry's advantage, for he retained all his conqueſts, except ſome towns and caſtles in Languedoc, which he reſtored to the earl of Niſmes, from whom they had been unjuſtly taken by the earl of Toulouſe.

Henry now reſolved to undertake a very important work, which, if he had ſucceeded, would have compleated his glory; but he met with an obſtacle which broke all his meaſures. The uſurpations of the clergy, which at firſt

had been gradual, were now made with ſuch rapidity, and aroſe to ſuch a height, that it was become neceſſary to determine, whether the king or the prieſts, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſhould be ſovereign of the kingdom. Henry had all along, in the government of his foreign dominions, as well as of England, ſhewn a fixed purpoſe to maintain thoſe prerogatives, which had been tranſmitted to him by his predeceſſors, by repreſſing all clerical uſurpations. During the ſchiſm of the papacy between Victor and Alexander, he had for ſome time reſolved to remain neuter, and it was not till he had deliberately examined the matter, that he allowed Alexander to exerciſe authority over any of his dominions. In England, his regard for Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, on account of his mild character, his great age, and his having refuſed to acknowledge Euſtace as the ſucceſſor of Stephen, prevented his taking any meaſures during that prelate's life, againſt the numerous encroachments of the clergy. But after his death, he reſolved to exert himſelf with greater activity; and to ſecure himſelf from any oppoſition, advanced Becket to that dignity, fully depending on his compliance.

Becket, beſides his enjoying the poſt of chancellor, had before been put in poſſeſſion of the honours of Eye and Berkham, large baronies that had eſcheated to the crown; and was entruſted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon. This miniſter was now become his chief favourite. Employments and truſts of all kinds, were

were heaped upon him without meaſure or propriety. He had a ſcandalous number of eccleſiaſtical benefices, he had royal caſtles and forts committed to his cuſtody, and the temporalities of vacant prelacies, the revenues of which he uſed with the ſame freedom, as if they had been his own rents; perhaps for the general ſervice of his maſter, but without keeping any regular or ſtrict account, and with the appearance of the moſt extravagant prodigality and oſtentation. In ſhort, he appeared almoſt to ſhare the throne with his ſovereign. Indeed, he poſſeſſed all the qualities that could moſt powerfully engage the affections of a prince, capable of diſcerning, and loving extraordinary merit. Becket's perſon was graceful, and his countenance pleaſing; his wit was lively and facetious, his judgment acute, his eloquence ſweet and flowing, his memory vaſt and ready on all occaſions. There was a certain inexpreſſible grace in his manners, which rendered his virtues more amiable, and even his vices agreeable. Thus his profuſeneſs and oſtentation appeared like generoſity, and greatneſs of ſpirit. The pomp of his retinue, the ſplendor of his furniture, the luxury of his table, exceeded any thing that England had ever before ſeen in a ſubject. Fitz-Stephens, his hiſtorian and ſecretary, among other particulars, obſerves, that his apartments were every day, in ſummer, covered with green ruſhes or boughs, and in winter with clean ſtraw or hay; leſt the gent'emen who paid their court to him, and could not on account of their great num-

ber, find a place at his table, ſhould ſoil their fine clothes, by ſitting on a dirty floor * ; the greateſt barons were proud of being received at his table ; the ſons of the chief nobility were educated in his houſe, and Henry himſelf frequently condeſcended to partake of his entertainments. His manner of life was ſplendid, and his amuſements gay, agreeable to the ſpirit of a warrior, which, as he had only taken deacon's orders, he did not think at all unſuitable to his character. His leiſure hours were employed in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horſemanſhip; he expoſed his perſon in ſeveral military actions, and being entruſted with an embaſſy to France, he aſtoniſhed that court, with the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Henry not only committed to Becket's management all his more important buſineſs, but whenever he was inclined to relax his mind from the cares of buſineſs, admitted him to be a partner in his ſports. Fitz-Stephens mentions an inſtance of their familiarity, which ſhews the ſportive manners of the age. The king and the chancellor riding together one day, through the ſtreets of London, obſerved a beggar who was ſhivering with cold, on which the

* This was perfectly ſuitable to the manners of that age. John Baldwin held the manor of Oterarſee in Ayleſbury of the king in ſoccage, by the ſervice of finding litter for the king's bed, viz. in ſummer graſs or herbs, and in winter ſtraw. With two grey geeſe and three eels, if the king ſhould come thrice in the year to Ayleſbury.

king

king ſaid, Would it not be a very praiſe-worthy action, to give that poor man a warm coat in this ſevere ſeaſon? It certainly would, replied the chancellor, and you do well, Sir, in thinking of ſuch good actions. Then he ſhall have one preſently, ſays the king: and ſeizing the ſkirt of the chancellor's coat, which was ſcarlet and lined with ermin, endeavoured to pull it off. The chancellor defended himſelf for ſome time, and both of them had like to have tumbled off their horſes in the ſtreet; when Becket, after a violent ſtruggle, let go his coat, which the king gave to the beggar, who being a ſtranger to the quality of the perſons, was greatly ſurprized at the preſent.

As Becket rendered himſelf agreeable by his good humour and complaiſance; and uſeful by his extraordinary abilities and induſtry, he appeared to Henry as the fitteſt perſon to fill the vacancy, occaſioned by Theobald's death, eſpecially as he was well acquainted with the king's intentions of confining all the eccleſiaſtical privileges within the ancient bounds, and always ſhewed great readineſs in complying with them. The king, who never expected any reſiſtance from him, iſſued orders for electing him archbiſhop of Canterbury. A reſolution, that was taken contrary to the opinion of Matilda and his miniſters, and drew after it the moſt unhappy conſequences; for never did a prince of ſuch penetration appear in the iſſue, to have been ſo miſtaken in the genius and character of a miniſter.

Becket

Becket was no ſooner inſtalled in this high dignity, which rendered him the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, with ſome pretenſions of obtaining a power equal to the firſt, than he entirely changed his conduct, and ſtrove to acquire that character for ſanctity, of which he had ſhewn no appearance, in his former buſy and ſplendid courſe of life. In his retinue and attendance, he maintained ſomewhat of his ancient pomp and luſtre, but in his own perſon, affected the greateſt auſterity, and moſt rigid mortification. Under his canonical habit he wore the frock of a monk, and under that a hair-cloth next his ſkin. Archbiſhop Theobald had doubled the ſum which his predeceſſor appropriated to pious uſes, and Becket doubled that which had been given by him, beſtowing a full tenth of the revenues of his ſee, in conſtant and ſtated alms: but he was not ſatisfied with relieving the wants of the poor; he waited on them at table, he waſhed their feet with his own hands. We are told, indeed, that theſe acts of pious humility were done in private; but as he uſually repeated them every night, they could not long remain unknown; and the fame of them was encreaſed by the affectation of ſecrecy. The hoſpitality of the favourite was kept up by the primate; but the mode of it was changed. He dined in public every day, with profuſion and ſplendor; but the nobles or gentlemen, who came to dine with him, were placed at another table; none being permitted to ſit at his, except the monks of the convent of Canterbury, and a ſelect ſet of clergymen, both Engliſh and foreigners,

foreigners, who were eminent for their learning, whom he had particularly attached to his perſon. Inſtead of the uſual entertainment of muſic, ſome Latin book was read to him during the whole time of dinner; after which he retired to a private apartment, with thoſe learned friends, whoſe ſociety ſeemed to be his chief delight. Every one who was diſtinguiſhed by his ſanctity, was admitted to his converſation, and returned praiſing the humility, the piety, and mortification of the holy primate: he appeared to be perpetually engaged in prayer, pious lectures, or in peruſing religious diſcourſes: his countenance, which was grave, had the appearance of mental recollection, and ſecret devotion: and it was viſible, that he was meditating ſome great deſign, and that he had a new object in view.

Nothing ſo much excited the wonder of mankind, as Becket's ſending the great ſeal to Henry, in Normandy, with a ſhort meſſage, "that he deſired him to provide himſelf with another chancellor; for he was hardly ſufficient for one office, much leſs for two." All he had known of Becket's temper and inclinations made it very difficult to impute his reſigning an office, uſually held by a churchman, to a ſcruple of conſcience, or a diſlike of temporal power. He therefore conſidered it as a certain indication of a more dangerous kind of ambition; and believed, that the archbiſhop would have continued his miniſter, if he had not aſpired to become his rival, by exalting the mitre above the crown. On his coming over to England,

gland, full of anger and vexation on this account, Becket met him at Southampton, with the young Henry his pupil; but was ſo coolly received, that the quick eyes of the court inſtantly ſaw, what many were glad to ſee, a great decline of his favour. Another mark of it was, that the king inſiſted with him on his giving up the archdeaconry; which he was ſo unwilling to part with, that Henry was unable to wreſt it out of his hands, without great difficulty, and repeated urgent expoſtulations.

Becket did not wait till the king began to execute the projects which he knew he had formed againſt the eccleſiaſtical power, but endeavoured at once to overawe his ſovereign, by the intrepidity and boldneſs of his conduct. He ſummoned the earl of Clare to ſurrender the barony of Tunbridge, which had remained in the family of that nobleman, ever ſince the conqueſt; but as it had anciently belonged to the ſee of Canterbury, Becket pretended, that no human power had a right to alienate it. Beſides the luſtre which the earl of Clare derived from his high birth, and the greatneſs of his poſſeſſions, he was allied to all the principal families in England; his ſiſter, who was a celebrated beauty, was even ſuppoſed to have gained the king's affections; and Becket could not better diſcover his vigorous reſolution of maintaining the real or pretended rights of his ſee, than by attacking one, who had ſuch powerful intereſt.

William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, was the patron of a living, belonging

ing to a manor that held of the archbiſhop of Canterbury: but Becket, without regard to Eynsford's right, preſented, on a new and illegal pretence, one Laurence to that living, whom Eynsford expelled. The primate, as was uſual in ſpiritual courts, making himſelf both judge and party, iſſued out, in a ſummary manner, the ſentence of excommunication againſt Eynsford, who complained to the king, that he who held in capite of the crown, ſhould, contrary to the practice eſtabliſhed by the conqueror, and ever ſince maintained by his ſucceſſors, be ſubject to that terrible ſentence, without the previous conſent of his ſovereign. Henry, who had now broken off all perſonal intercourſe with Becket, ſent a meſſenger to him with orders to abſolve Eynsford; but was anſwered, that the king had no right to inform him whom he ſhould excommunicate, or whom abſolve. But after many remonſtrances and menaces, Becket was induced, though with a very ill grace, to comply with the royal mandate.

Theſe proceedings, inſtead of intimidating Henry, by the proſpect of a violent oppoſition, from his intention of reducing the clergy to obedience, more ſtrongly determined him to it. He found, indeed, that Becket, whoſe aſſiſtance he had hoped for, would be his moſt intractable adverſary; but he likewiſe found that this circumſtance rendered it neceſſary to proceed with double vigour, in order to ſet timely bounds to the inſolence of a prelate, who, if he was any longer ſuffered to go uncontrouled,

controuled, would give ſuch ſpirit and ſtrength to the eccleſiaſtical faction, that it would not be afterwards in the power of the crown to vindicate its own dignity and the rights of the kingdom. He imagined, that he ought to begin with taking from the clergy the ſtrange privilege, to which they pretended of being exempt from all ſecular judicature; becauſe while they retained it, they might ſafely perſevere in all their other encroachments on the civil authority. And he could now bring on the queſtion, with the ſtrongeſt evidences, of the miſchiefs that muſt attend the continuance of ſuch a privilege.

Becket had lately protected ſome clergymen, guilty of enormous and capital crimes, from being delivered up to the juſtice of the crown. Among others, there was one accuſed of having debauched a gentleman's daughter, and of having, to ſecure his enjoyment of her, murdered the father. The king ordered him to be brought to judgment before a civil court, that if convicted, he might ſuffer a puniſhment adequate to his guilt, which the eccleſiaſtical judicatures could not inflict upon him: but this was oppoſed by Becket, which, raiſing a general indignation in the public, Henry ſummoned all the biſhops to attend him at Weſtminſter, and in an animated and vehement ſpeech, informed them of the reaſons of their meeting. He began, with complaining of the flagrant corruption of the ſpiritual courts, which frequently extorted great ſums from the innocent, and allowed the guilty to eſcape with

with no other puniſhment, but pecuniary commutations, which turned to the profit of the clergy; who, thus, he ſaid, levied more money in a year from the people, than he did himſelf, but left wickedneſs unreformed, ſecure, and triumphant. He then repreſented, in ſtrong colours, the great miſchiefs the whole kingdom ſuffered from the impunity of the moſt flagitious offenders, who, under the cover of holy orders, had nothing to apprehend, except ſpiritual cenſures, which wicked men little regarded; they not being liable to corporal pains, though, on account of the abuſe of their holy character, they deſerved to be treated with more ſeverity than any other delinquents. For theſe reaſons, he demanded the conſent of the biſhops, that eccleſiaſtics, convicted of any heinous crime, ſhould firſt be degraded, and then immediately delivered over to the ſecular courts for corporal puniſhment. He alſo deſired, that one of his officers might always be preſent at the degradation of any ſuch offenders, to prevent their flying from juſtice.

Becket, after being allowed to confer with the biſhops apart, brought them to join with him in declaring to the king, that no eccleſiaſtic ought ever to be judged in a ſecular court, or ſuffer death, or loſs of limbs for any crime whatſoever; and that degradation from orders being a puniſhment, it would be unjuſt, to puniſh twice for the ſame crime; but that if a clergyman, who had been degrated, ſhould be afterwards guilty of other crimes,

the royal judges might, in that caſe, puniſh him for them.

Henry having for ſome time oppoſed this reaſoning, and finding them obſtinate, aſked them, whether they would obſerve *the ancient cuſtoms and laws of his realm*; to which Becket, after conſulting with his brethren, ſaid, that "he would as far as he could, ſaving the pri-"vileges of his order, and the honour of "God." Each of the prelates being aſked the ſame queſtion, anſwered in the ſame words. The king being extremely provoked at this evaſive reſerve, ſaid, he perceived that a line of battle was drawn up againſt him, and abruptly left the aſſembly. The next morning he took from Becket the government of his ſon, with the cuſtody of thoſe caſtles which he had committed to him when chancellor. The loſs of theſe did not pleaſe him, but it particularly grieved him to ſee the young prince, whoſe tender mind he deſired to mould to his purpoſes, taken out of his hands.

Henry, though he reſolved to maintain his royal prerogatives with a neceſſary ſpirit and firmneſs, proceeded like one who wiſhed to conquer rather by art than force. He uſed all methods to gain the biſhops to his ſide, or at leaſt to break their aſſociation, in which he ſo far ſucceeded, that many of them were inclined to yield, and were only reſtrained by the fear of drawing on themſelves the cenſures of Rome. The king even exerted his whole policy in trying to overcome the obſtinacy of Becket. He threatened, he entreated, he even prevailed

prevailed upon himſelf to flatter the man whom he had once loved, and now hated. But that prelate knew courts too well to think that favour could be regained after a ſtruggle for dominion with his maſter. He therefore continued inflexible. In vain did the moſt diſcreet and ſober of his friends, remind him of the reſpect he owed to his ſovereign; in vain did they ſet before him the ingratitude of his conduct, or the diſturbance and danger, which, by perſevering in it, he would bring on the whole kingdom, as well as himſelf. He anſwered by pleading his zeal for the church, which ſuperceded all duties, and cancelled all obligations; and went ſo far as to ſay, *that if an angel ſhould come from heaven, and adviſe him to make the acknowledgment deſired by the king, without the ſaving he had thrown in, he would anathematize him.* Yet he was afterwards brought to make that acknowledgment, and part with his ſaving clauſe, by the authority of the pope's almoner, who was then at London. For going to Henry at Oxford, he there promiſed to obſerve the cuſtoms of the kingdom, without any exception or reſerve. The king received him with an apparent ſatisfaction; but not with the confidence he had formerly ſhewn him.

Henry, not ſatisfied with this declaration in general terms, reſolved to define expreſsly thoſe cuſtoms to which he required compliance, and thus, to put a ſtop to all clerical uſurpations. He therefore called a parliament to meet him at Clarendon, where ſuch rights of the crown,

and cuſtoms of the realm, particularly with regard to judicial proceedings, as had been in uſe under the government of king Henry the Firſt and his royal predeceſſors, being recollected upon memory, and ſet down in writing by the moſt ancient perſons there, it was deſired, that the whole aſſembly ſhould take an oath to obſerve them. This met with no difficulty on the part of the laity; but Becket objected to it as very different from the general promiſe he had given. The king and the temporal lords expreſſed great anger at this unexpected oppoſition, which amounted to a confeſſion, that he meant to impoſe on his ſovereign, and fraudulently evade the obedience he had promiſed. The biſhops were afraid of abandoning their primate, and for three days ſucceſſively, the temporal barons and they debated this point; and the former finding the difficulty of reaſoning the biſhops into a better temper, began to treat them as enemies to their country, and to offer threats; yet ſtill the prelates remained firm. Becket alone, after the temporal lords were departed, withdrew from his brethren, and went to conſult with the prior of the temple in London, and another knight templar, his particular friend, who both exhorting him to ſubmit to the orders of the king; he returned to the biſhops, and ſpoke in the hearing of them all theſe very remarkable words. "It is my maſter's pleaſure that I "ſhould forſwear myſelf, and at preſent I "ſubmit to it, and do reſolve to incur a per-"jury, and repent afterwards, as I may."

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The biſhops heard him with aſtoniſhment, and were not a little ſcandalized at what he had ſaid. Yet went with him to the king and barons in parliament, to whom he declar d his aſſent to the conſtitutions propoſed, and promiſed, *in the word of truth, that he would obſerve them in good faith, and without deceit*; which was at that time the uſual form of all promiſſory oaths. Having thus bound himſelf, he enjoined the other biſhops, by the canonical obedience they owed him, to take the ſame engagement; which they all did in the ſame words. They then ſigned the articles, and ſet their ſeals to them; but this Becket declined, a reſerve which does him no honour; for, after a ſolemn promiſe that he would obſerve t eſe conſtitutions, it was inconſiſtent and tr fling to ſcruple the ſigning or ſealing of them: for beſides his verbal engagement, the con ent he had given to the articles is expreſsly declared in the preamble to the act itſelf, which is as ſtrong a teſtimony againſt him as his ſubſcription or ſignature; and all authors agree, that he received one authentic copy of it, another being delivered to the archbiſhop of York, and a third retained by the king himſelf, to be enrolled among the royal charters.

After the breaking up of the council of Clarendon, Becket joined with the archbiſhop of York, in writing to pope Alexander, to ſupport the requeſt which Henry made by Geoffry Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury, and John of Oxford, *that his holineſs would confirm the ancient cuſtoms and dignities of his realm, by*

the authority of the apoſtolic ſee, to him and his ſucceſſors. But this the pope refuſed in the ſtrongeſt terms, ſince ſuch a requeſt was, in reality, deſiring the aſſiſtance of the papal power againſt itſelf; yet, a bull had been granted by pope Calixtus II. to Henry I. which confirmed all the laws and cuſtoms of his realm; and it is probable, that Henry II. relied on that precedent in making this application; Alexander being now, as Calixtus was then, driven from Rome by a ſchiſm. It is remarkable, that at the very time when Becket, conjointly with the archbiſhop of York, applied to Alexander, to confirm the conſtitutions of Clarendon, he had ſuſpended himſelf from celebrating maſs, in teſtimony of his penitence for the crime he had committed, by conſenting to thoſe laws: and there is extant a letter from that pontiff to him, which abſolves him from his ſin, and enjoins him to return to the ſervice of the altar, leſt his abſence from it ſhould occaſion a public ſcandal. His having acted this part was a ſecret to Henry, but it is probable, that the pope had early notice of it from his agents in England.

Henry had alſo made another requeſt to Alexander, which was, that a commiſſion ſhould be granted by his holineſs to the archbiſhop of York, appointing him legate over the whole kingdom of England. This was agreed to, but under ſuch a reſtriction as rendered it ineffectual; for the pope obtained a promiſe from the king's miniſters, in his name, that he would not deliver the commiſſion without the

the conſent of Becket. Upon which Henry diſavowing the promiſe, ſent back the commiſſion by the ſame meſſenger who brought it.

The primate however finding himſelf ſtill expoſed to the king's reſentment, endeavoured twice to eſcape out of the kingdom, without the king's knowledge, which was a high miſdemeanor, particularly forbidden by the conſtitutions of Clarendon, but he was as often detained by contrary winds.

Becket now choſe rather to begin than wait for hoſtilities; and openly oppoſing the laws enacted at Clarendon, protected churchmen who had offended againſt them, and expreſſed, by his whole conduct, a deliberate purpoſe to exalt the eccleſiaſtical above the civil power. All the nobles were alarmed, and Henry was told by his counſellors, that if he did not take care of himſelf and his ſucceſſors, it would come to that paſs, that he whom the clergy ſhould elect would be king, and only ſo long as it ſhould pleaſe the archbiſhop. What England had ſeen under Stephen gave force to this admonition; but Henry, who had much greater abilities, reſolved to guard againſt any ſuch inſults, and an opportunity of executing that reſolution in a legal manner ſoon offered.

A royal mandate had been ſent to Becket, requiring him to do juſtice to a great officer of the houſhold, in relation to an eſtate which he claimed from the church of Canterbury: and the limited time being paſt, that nobleman now complained to the king, that juſtice was denied him by the archbiſhop; and that he had

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gone through all the neceſſary forms for removing the cauſe out of the court of Canterbury into the king's court. Upon which the king ſent a citation to Becket, by which that prelate was ordered to appear before him, upon a fixed day. But his anſwer was an expreſs declaration, *that he would not obey it*. Which appearing greatly to derogate from the king's right and dignity, it was reſolved to bring him before the high court of parliament, to anſwer for this and other offences. A great council was accordingly ſummoned at Northampton, which being aſſembled, Henry complained in very moderate and decent terms of the contempt the archbiſhop of Canterbury had ſhewn to his mandate. Becket, on being called, confeſſed the fact, and the court condemned him as guilty of contumacy againſt the king's majeſty, and therefore decreed all his goods and chattles to be at the king's mercy. The biſhops unanimouſly concurred with the temporal barons in this ſentence; and it being underſtood that a fine of 500 l. (equivalent in theſe days to 1500 l.) would be accepted by Henry, Becket found ſecurities for the payment of that ſum.

Henry, the next day, demanded of the archbiſhop 500 l. which he ſaid he had lent him, while that prelate was chancellor. Becket affirmed, that it was given, not lent; but as he could not prove the grant, he was condemned to repay the money; and five of his vaſſals offered themſelves as his ſecurities. But on the third day a higher charge was brought againſt him; that while he was chancellor, he had many

many years in his hands the rents of ſeveral vacant abbies and biſhoprics, with other caſual profits belonging to the crown, of which the king now required him to give an account. He anſwered, that as he had not been cited on this matter, he was not prepared to anſwer it; but in due time and place he would not fail to do the king right. Henry did not object to the delay; but only demanded ſecurities. Upon which he deſired leave to conſult with the biſhops; and the king permitted him to go with them into another room.

Becket was now greatly perplexed. While he was chancellor his expences were enormous, and much exceeded what the income of his employments, great as they were, could ſupply. The chief ſupport of that magnificence, was the king's money in his cuſtody, of which, while he was a favourite, his indulgent maſter had neglected to aſk an account, nor had he given any. But that omiſſion which favour had connived at, anger would not over-look, and juſtice could not, when it was made a legal charge. Being ſenſible of this, he reſolved to ſubmit to no examination, nor to find any ſecurities. Several of the prelates adviſed him to reſign his archbiſhopric into the king's hands, as the only thing that could be found to draw him out of this difficulty. After a long ſilence, Becket roſe up, and deſired to ſpeak with the earls of Leiceſter and Cornwall, who were then with the king. Theſe lords being called to him, he told them, that the perſons to whom his cauſe was beſt known not being there, he pray-

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ed a reſpite till the next day, when he would anſwer as God ſhould inſpire him. This being explained to the king by the biſhops of London and Rocheſter, as purporting, that he would then deliver in his accounts; that prince ſent back the two earls with his aſſent to the delay required, if he would then perform what the two prelates had promiſed in his name. But he denied, that he had authorized them to carry ſuch a meſſage, and repeated his former words. Yet the king permitted him to depart, and the next day being Sunday, adjourned the council till Monday, that he might have no reaſon to complain of the proceedings againſt him being carried on with too great precipitation.

When he came home, he found himſelf entirely forſaken by the great train of knights and gentlemen which had attended him to the parliament: upon which he ordered his ſervants to pick up all the beggars about the hedges and villages about Northampton, and invite them to his table; affecting to imitate the parabolical feaſt of the goſpel. His command was obeyed, and he dined with them, ſaying, "With ſuch an army I ſhall more eaſi-"ly obtain the victory, than with thoſe who "have ſhamefully fled from me in the hour of "danger." Yet the agitation of his mind brought upon him a violet fit of the cholic, which ſeized him on Sunday night, and diſabled him from attending the council the next day. All the aſſembly believed his illneſs to be feigned; but to be certain, deputed ſome of

of the greater nobility to viſit and cite him to the court. He pleaded his illneſs, which they ſaw to be real, and aſſured them, that he would not fail, with the aſſiſtance of God, to appear before them the next day, though he ſhould be obliged to be carried in a litter.

Early in the morning he was viſited by many of the biſhops, who endeavoured to perſuade him, that for the peace of the church, he ſhould ſubmit entirely to the king's pleaſure; becauſe if he did not, he would be charged in the court of parliament with perjury and treaſon. This he refuſed; and ſaying, he appealed to the church of Rome, added, "If the ſecular "power ſhall preſume to lay hands upon me, "I command you, in behalf of your father "and metropolitan, to thunder out the proper "eccleſiaſtical cenſures."

The biſhops having left him, he ſaid maſs at an altar dedicated to St. Stephen, ordering it to begin as on the feſtival of that martyr, with theſe words of the ſcripture, *princes ſat and ſpoke againſt me*. Having thus prepared himſelf, he ſecretly carried with him a conſecrated hoſt, and went to the parliament. When he came to the door, he took the croſs out of the hands of the perſon who bore it before him, and holding it up, entered alone into the chamber where the barons were aſſembled, expecting his coming. The biſhops roſe up to meet him, and were greatly aſtoniſhed at ſeeing him appear in ſo extraordinary a manner. The biſhop of Hereford offered to carry the croſs as his chaplain, but he refuſed to deliver it,

it, ſaying, it was proper he ſhould bear it himſelf, as he wanted it to protect him; and that when this enſign appeared, it would be evident under what prince he fought. The biſhops of London and Hereford ſtrove in vain to wreſt it out of his hands: which the archbiſhop of York obſerving, ſeverely reproved him for entering the court of his ſovereign thus armed with his croſs, as if to bid him defiance; and he was told, both by that prelate and the biſhop of London, that he would find the king's weapon of greater force than his: to which he replied, that the king's weapon, indeed, could kill the body, but his could deſtroy the ſoul, and ſend it to hell. He then again appealed to the pope, and prohibited them from aſſiſting in any other judgment concerning him.

Henry, on being informed of the manner of his coming, had retired into an inner room of the caſtle, from whence he ſent a herald to command all the other ſpiritual and temporal lords to attend him there. This order being obeyed, he complained to them, that Becket, by entering his court in that unheard-of manner, had fixed a ſtain upon him, and all the peerage of England, as if ſome treachery had been intended againſt him. It was anſwered, that the archbiſhop had been always a vain and arrogant man: that this action was, indeed, an affront, not only to his ſovereign, but to all the peers, and the whole kingdom aſſembled in parliament; and that for his ingratitude and perfidy to ſo good a maſter, and his manifeſt violation of his oath and fealty, he ought to be im-

impeached of perjury and high treaſon. But though this appeared to be the unanimous ſenſe of the whole aſſembly, yet the king was ſo moderate, that he would not allow them to proceed againſt the archbiſhop, on this account; but only required, that juſtice ſhould be done him, with regard to the debt he claimed, and ſent ſome lords to demand of him, whether he would give pledges to ſtand to the judgment of the court on that article, or was prepared to do the king right, according to his promiſe. His anſwer amounted to a peremptory refuſal, which, with his appeal to the pope, appeared to the king, and to all the temporal barons, ſuch an act of deliberate diſobedience, that it was reſolved to attaint him as guilty of high treaſon. The biſhops, who found themſelves under very great difficulties how to act on this occaſion; after ſome conſultation, implored the king's permiſſion to appeal to the ſee of Rome againſt that prelate, on account of his perjury; ſolemnly promiſing to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to prevail on Alexander to depoſe him from his archbiſhopric, if the king would excuſe them from joining with the temporal lords in the ſentence they were going to paſs againſt him. To this Henry gave way, with more complaiſance than diſcretion. The biſhops then went to Becket, and told him, that putting themſelves under the protection of the pope, they cited him to anſwer their accuſations.

In the mean while, the king demanded juſtice againſt him from the temporal barons, and

they unanimouſly found him guilty of perjury and treaſon. After which, the earls and barons, with a great crowd of other perſons, went to the archbiſhop, and the earl of Leiceſter ordered him to give an account of the money he was charged with, otherwiſe to hear his ſentence; but was interrupted by Becket, who told him, that at the time of his promotion, the king being aſked in what manner they would give him to the church of Canterbury, it was anſwered, "Free and diſcharged from "all the bonds of the court;" and therefore, being free and diſcharged, he was not bound to anſwer concerning thoſe things from which he was freed.

Having again appealed to the pope, he was going out; and as he paſſed along, many called him a perjured traitor. On which, turning his head and looking back upon them with a ſtern countenance, he ſaid as loudly as he could, that if his holy orders did not forbid it, he would, by arms, defend himſelf againſt the charge of treaſon and perjury: nor could he refrain from revenging himſelf upon two of the moſt clamorous, by foul language; upbraiding one of them, who was an officer belonging to the houſhold, with one of his relations being hanged; and calling earl Hamelin, the king's natural brother, baſtard and calamite. As ſoon as he appeared in the ſtreet, a great number of beggars, together with the mob of the town, and ſome of the inferior eccleſiaſtics, crouded about him, congratulating him upon his delivery, and attending him with joyful

acclamations, to the convent where he lodged. This he called a glorious proceſſion; and inviting them all to partake of his repaſt, courteouſly entertained them as his gueſts.

Henry being informed of his having withdrawn himſelf ſo abruptly from the judgment of his peers, with ſuch provoking inſolence of words and behaviour, apprehended, that the barons might be incited, by the exceſs of their indignation againſt him, to ſome act of illegal violence; and therefore prudently ordered proclamation to be made, that he forbad all perſons, on pain of death, to do the archbiſhop, or his people, any harm.

Soon after, he received a meſſage from that prelate, requeſting his licence to go out of the kingdom. The king anſwered, that he would adviſe with his council upon it the next day. The archbiſhop, however, went out of the back door of the convent at midnight, with only two attendants, with whom he rode towards Lincoln, in order to elude any purſuit; but after ſtaying ſome time at different places, he ſet ſail from Sandwich in a ſmall fiſhing-boat, and arrived ſafe at Gravelins on the tenth of November 1164, though ſtrict orders had been ſent to the ſea-ports to prevent his leaving the kingdom.

The greateſt fault committed by this prince, in the management of this affair, was allowing the biſhops to appeal to the pope, inſtead of joining in the ſentence of the other barons againſt the primate. Indeed that appeal was made in conſequence of the archbiſhop's, but

it was equally offenſive to the dignity of the kingdom: it admitted the judicature of the pope, in a matter of which he had no proper cognizance, and gave him an authority to revive and rejudge what ought to have been finally determined in England, by the law of the land, and the judgment of the barons; but he was unwearily induced to it, by his earneſt deſire to keep the biſhops on his ſide, and by the belief, that they would eaſily perſuade the pope to conſider the diſpute as a pecuniary cauſe between him and his late chancellor, in which the church had no concern. And if, through their mediation, that pontiff could be prevailed upon to depoſe the archbiſhop, he thought it would as effectually anſwer his purpoſe, as more violent methods. At the ſame time, not to put any difficulties in the way of the negociation with Alexander, the king abſtained from the exerciſe of his royal prerogative, which gave him a right to ſeize the archbiſhop's temporalities, in conſequence of his flight.

Becket found powerful protectors abroad. Philip, earl of Flanders, and Lewis, king of France, jealous of Henry's greatneſs, were pleaſed to give him diſturbance: forgetting that this was the common cauſe of princes, they affected to pity extremely the condition of the exiled primate; and the latter even honoured him with a viſit at Soiſſons, in which city he invited him to fix his reſidence. The pope, whoſe intereſts were more immediately concerned, gave a cold reception to a magnificent embaſſy, which

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Henry ſent with the biſhops, to accuſe him; yet Becket, who came to Sens, in order to juſtify his cauſe before the ſovereign pontiff, was received with the greateſt marks of diſtinction. Henry now thought it neceſſary to exert his authority, by ſequeſtring the revenues of Canterbury; and even went ſo far, as to baniſh out of England, by a general ſentence, all the relations, friends, and dependents of Becket, to the number of near four hundred perſons, without diſtinction of ſex or age. A cruel ſentence, in which the innocent were puniſhed for the guilty *. Theſe were obliged to ſwear before their departure, that they would inſtantly join their patron. But this policy, by which Henry endeavoured to reduce Becket the ſooner to neceſſity, loſt its effect; for the pope abſolving them from their oath, ſome of them were hoſpitably ſupported in Flanders, by the friends of that prelate; the king of France, the queen of Sicily, and many other perſons of diſtinction took care of the reſt. Becket himſelf had a reſidence aſſigned him in the convent of Pontigny, where he lived for ſome years in great magnificence, partly on a penſion granted him on the revenues of that abbey,

* It is remarkable, that ſome time before, Richard de Lacy, one of the king's chief juſticiaries, had threatened the biſhops of the province of Canterbury, that *they and all their relations* ſhould be baniſhed, if they did not obey the royal mandate to elect Becket archbiſhop; and there is great reaſon to believe, that Becket himſelf conſented to this terrible menace.

and partly on the remittances he received from the French king.

Becket, the more to ingratiate himſelf with the pope, reſigned into his hands the ſee of Canterbury, to which he pretended, he had been uncanonically elected by the royal mandate; on which Alexander not only inveſted him anew with that dignity, but pretended to abrogate, by a bull, the ſentence which the parliament of England had paſſed againſt him.

Soon after Alexander departed for Rome, whither he was invited by the proſperous ſituation of his affairs, occaſioned by the death of Victor; on which Henry, provided againſt the conſequences of the breach between his kingdom and the apoſtolic ſee. He iſſued orders to his juſticiaries, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, all appeals to the pope or archbiſhop; forbidding any one to receive any mandate from them, or to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom; and menaced, with ſequeſtration and baniſhment, the perſons themſelves, as well as their kindred; who ſhould pay obedience to any ſuch interdict, and he farther obliged all his ſubjects, to ſwear to the obſervance of theſe orders.

Becket filled all places with exclamations againſt the violence he had ſuffered. He took it for granted, as a point inconteſtible, that his cauſe was the cauſe of God: he compared himſelf to Chriſt, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and was crucified afreſh in the preſent oppreſſions under which his church laboured:

laboured: he aſſumed the character of champion for the patrimony of the divinity: he pretended to be the ſpiritual father of the king and all the people of England; and that kings reign ſolely by the authority of the church: he even iſſued out a cenſure, excommunicating the king's chief miniſters by name, and comprehending in general all thoſe who favoured or obeyed the conſtitutions of Clarendon: thoſe conſtitutions he abrogated and annulled; he abſolved all men from the oaths they had taken to obſerve them, and ſuſpended the ſpiritual thunder over Henry himſelf, only on account of his hearing that he was dangerouſly ill.

Henry was now in ſo unhappy a ſituation, that he could employ no expedient for ſaving his miniſters from this terrible cenſure, but by appealing to the pope himſelf, and thus having recourſe to the very tribunal he had himſelf attempted to abridge, even in this article of appeals, and to one whom he knew was ſo deeply engaged on his adverſary's ſide. But even this appeal was not likely to be long effectual. Becket had been made legate of England, in conſequence of which he was judge in his own cauſe, and in virtue of that authority, ſummoned ſome of the biſhops of London, Saliſbury, and others to attend him, and ordered, under pain of excommunication, that the eccleſiaſtics, ſequeſtered on his account, ſhould be reſtored to their benefices within two months. But John of Oxford, the king's agent with the pope, had the addreſs to procure

cure orders for ſuſpending this ſentence; and to give the pontiff hopes of a ſpeedy reconciliation between the king and Becket, by which he obtained for the king, that two cardinals named by Henry, ſhould be ſent legates *à latere*, with full authority to hear and determine the matters in diſpute between the king and Becket, and to abſolve all the ſervants and counſellors of that prince, from the excommunication laid upon them. At the ſame time the pope granted a diſpenſation for Geoffry Plantagenet, Henry's third ſon, to marry his third couſin, the heireſs of Britanny. The ſucceſs of thoſe cardinals muſt be chiefly aſcribed to the emperor Frederick's appearing in Lombardy, and threatening Rome, at the head of a numerous army.

In ſhort, frequent attempts were made to produce an accommodation; but as both parties entertained a perpetual jealouſy of each other, and were deſirous of not loſing the leaſt advantage in the negociation, they came to no agreement. The nuncios Gratian and Vivian being ſent by the pope, met the king in Normandy; and after all differences appeared to be adjuſted, the king offered to ſign the treaty with a ſalvo to his royal dignity; which gave ſuch offence to Becket, that the negociation became fruitleſs, and the excommunications were renewed againſt Henry's miniſters. Another negociation was conducted at Montmirail, at which the French king and his prelates were preſent, when Becket was with difficulty obliged to kneel before Henry, and then ſaid, "that

" that to the honour of God and his honour, " he threw himſelf upon God's mercy and his " mercy :" when the king, whom experience had rendered cautious, objected to the phraſe, *the honour of God*, and it was explained to mean the honour of *the church*, which likewiſe rendered the treaty abortive. Upon this occaſion, Henry addreſſing the French king ſaid, " There have been many kings of England, " ſome of greater and ſome of leſs power than " I. There have been alſo many archbiſhops " of Canterbury, great and holy men. What " therefore the greateſt and holieſt of his pre- " deceſſors did for the leaſt of mine, let him " do for me, and I ſhall be ſatisfied." Several other conferences were held, and in one of them, when all the terms were adjuſted, and the primate expected to be reſtored to his ſee, and to receive from the king the kiſs of peace, which it was uſual in thoſe times for princes to grant, as a ſure pledge of forgiveneſs, Henry refuſed him that honour; becauſe, during his anger he had ſworn, that he would never grant it; and though he in ſtrong terms expreſſed his forgiveneſs, the want of this formality prevented the concluſion of the treaty: for though the difficulty was attempted to be overcome by the pope's granting the king a diſpenſation from his oath, that prince could not be prevailed on to comply.

Henry now expecting an interdict to be laid upon his kingdom, and a ſentence of excommunication to be denounced againſt himſelf, thought it prudent to have his ſon prince Hen-

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ry crowned king by the hands of Roger, archbiſhop of York, in order to ſecure the ſucceſſion of that prince. Though this deſign was conducted with the utmoſt expedition and ſecrecy, Becket got intelligence of it, and being deſirous of obſtructing all Henry's meaſures, pretending that he had the ſole right, as archbiſhop of Canterbury, of performing the ceremony, inhibited all the prelates of England from aſſiſting at it, and procured a mandate to the ſame purpoſe from the pope. He even excited the king of France to proteſt againſt the coronation of young Henry, unleſs the princeſs, his daughter, ſhould at the ſame time receive the royal unction, which was at that time eſteemed eſſential to the exerciſe of royal authority. Henry, after apologizing to Lewis for the omiſſion with regard to Margaret, and excuſing it on account of the ſecrecy and diſpatch requiſite for conducting that affair, promiſed that the ceremony ſhould be again renewed in the perſons both of the prince and princeſs.

At laſt all difficulties were adjuſted; and the king allowed Becket to return to his ſee, on conditions that may be eſteemed honourable and advantageous to that prelate; but though the royal cuſtoms were not confirmed by this treaty, they were not given up, the king not admitting of any words which the pope himſelf could interpret into a promiſe that he would annul them; but it was agreed, that Becket and his friends ſhould be reſtored to their livings and eſtates, and that even the poſ-

ſeſſors

ſeſſors of ſuch benefices as depended on the ſee of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's abſence, ſhould be expelled, and Becket have liberty to ſupply the vacancies; that beſides receiving the acknowledgments of Roger and the other biſhops for the ſeeming affront put upon the ſee of Canterbury, the prince ſhould be crowned again, and he ſhould officiate at the coronation.

At this reconciliation the king paying Becket a compliment, he diſmounted, and threw himſelf at the king's feet; who ordered him to remount, holding himſelf the ſtirrup for him, and ſaid, with tears in his eyes, "My lord "archbiſhop, what occaſion is there for many "words? Let us now mutually reſtore to each "other our former affection, and do one an-"ther all the good we can, entirely forgetting "all the diſcord between us."

The violent ſpirit of Becket, elated by the victory which he imagined he had gained over his ſovereign, reſolved to make the injury which he pretended to have ſuffered, by not having firſt crowned the prince, a handle for taking revenge on all his enemies. On his arrival in England, he refuſed to abſolve the archbiſhop of York from the ſentence of ſuſpenſion; and the two biſhops of London and Saliſbury from that of excommunication, which, at his ſolicitation, the pope had pronounced againſt them, even though he had received power to releaſe the biſhops. The primate proceeded in the moſt oſtentatious manner to take poſſeſſion of his dioceſe, being accompanied

nied through the towns he paſſed with the ſhouts and acclamations of the populace, who attended him in great multitudes into Canterbury, ſpreading their cloaths in his way, and ſinging, "Bleſſed is he who cometh in the "name of the Lord." The pariſh prieſts alſo came to meet him in ſolemn proceſſion; and the pageantry was cloſed by the monks of Canterbury, who received him in their convent with ringing of bells, and with hymns of praiſe to God. That he might not fail of this triumph, his ſecretary, John of Saliſbury, had written from France a month before, to inform them of his coming, and to exhort them to meet him with all due honours. Soon after Becket reſolved to go to the palace of Woodſtock, where the young king reſided, deſigning to make him a preſent of three fine horſes. In his way, he paſſed through London, attended by ſome knights, who held of the ſee of Canterbury, and a great train of other followers. His father and moſt of his family having been citizens, he was particularly popular there, and made his entrance into the capital with a vaſt mob at his heels, among whom were ſome citizens of a better condition than the reſt. He had deſigned in like manner to go through his whole province; but early the next morning, an order was ſent to him from Woodſtock to ſtop this progreſs, and to retire within the verge of his church. This order he declared he would not have obeyed, if the feaſt of our Saviour's birth had not been ſo near. On Chriſtmas day he preached in the church of Canterbury,

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and at the end of his ſermon, told the congregation, that his diſſolution was near, and he ſhould quickly depart from them. Then ſuddenly changing his looks and voice, he vehemently inveighed againſt the vices of the age, and thundered out an anathema in general terms, againſt almoſt all king Henry's court. After which, lighting the candles, he by name excommunicated Ranulph de Broc, and Robert his brother, the latter of whom had been guilty of no other offence, than having the day before cut off the tail of one of his ſumpter horſes.

Mean while the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, had gone over to Normandy, and at the feet of the king, implored his juſtice and clemency for themſelves, his whole clergy, and for his kingdom. He was extremely incenſed, and ſaid, that "if all who conſented to his ſon's coronation, "were to be excommunicated, by the eyes of "God, he himſelf ſhould not be excepted." The archbiſhop, however, entreated him to proceed in this buſineſs, with diſcretion and temper. But being unable to maſter the violence of his paſſion, he exclaimed, "that the "man whom he had raiſed from the duſt, "trampled upon the whole kingdom, diſ"honoured the whole royal family, had driven "him and his children from the throne, and "triumphed there unreſiſted; and that he "was very unfortunate, to have maintained "ſo many cowardly and ungrateful men in his "court, none of whom, would revenge him

" of the injuries he ſuſtained from one tur-
" bulent prieſt." Having thus vented his rage, he thought no more of what he had ſaid; but unhappily for him, his words were taken notice of by ſome of thoſe peſts of a court, who are ready to catch at every opportunity of ſerving the paſſions of a prince, to the prejudice of his honour and intereſt. Four gentlemen of the bed-chamber, barons of the kingdom, Reginald Fitzurſe, William de Tracey, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, making no difference between a ſally of anger and a ſettled intention, to commit the greateſt crime, thought they ſhould oblige the king by murdering Becket. Yet it appears, that they rather deſired to induce that prelate by threats, and pretended orders from the king, to take off the cenſures which he had laid on the biſhops, or to drive him out of the kingdom; but if they could not ſucceed, they bound themſelves, by an execrable oath, to put him to death.

Thus determined, they paſſed over haſtily to England, without the king's knowledge, ſome menacing expreſſions which they had dropped, however, gave ſuſpicion of their deſign; on which the king diſpatched a meſſenger after them, to charge them to attempt nothing againſt the perſon of the primate; but theſe orders arrived too late. The aſſaſſins having a favourable wind, had ſet ſail; they arrived at Saltwood near Canterbury. The next morning Ranulph de Broc, taking ſome ſoldiers out of thoſe that had been employed in guarding the coaſt, went

went to the archiepiſcopal palace of Canterbury; where being admitted, they rudely commanded the archbiſhop to releaſe the excommunicated and ſuſpended biſhops; which he refuſing, they charged him with violating the reconciliation ſo lately concluded, and ordered him, in the king's name, to leave the kingdom with all that belonged to him; but this he alſo refuſed. In the evening, the monks who had barred the abbey gates, led the archbiſhop by a private way into the church, where the evening ſervice was performing. His enemies, however, got in, and commanded him again to take off the excommunication and ſuſpenſion of the biſhops; this he ſtill boldly refuſed; on which they ruſhed upon him as he ſtood near the altar, and endeavoured to drag him out of the church, with an intention, as they afterwards declared, to carry him in bonds to the king, or to kill him in a leſs ſacred place. But he clinging faſt to one of the pillars of the choir, they could not force him from thence. During the ſtruggle, he ſhook William de Tracey ſo roughly, that he almoſt threw him down; and as Reginald Fitzurſe preſt harder upon him than any of the others, he thruſt him away, and called him pimp. That violent man, ſtill more enraged, lifted up his ſword againſt the head of Becket, who bowing his neck, and joining his hands in a poſture of prayer, recommended his ſoul, and the cauſe of the church to God, and to the ſaints of that cathedral. One of the monks interpoſing his arm to ward off the

blow, it was almoſt cut off, and the archbiſhop was wounded in the crown of his head. He ſtood a ſecond ſtroke, which fell on his head, in the ſame devout poſture, without a motion, word, or groan; but after receiving a third, he fell proſtrate on his face, and all the accomplices preſſing to have a ſhare in the murder, a piece of his ſkull was ſtruck off, and Hugh, the ſubdeacon, who had joined them at Canterbury, ſcooped out the brains of the now dead archbiſhop, with the point of a ſword, and ſcattered them over the pavement.

Thus was this great prelate barbarouſly murdered in the fifty-third year of his age. The manner, the time, place, and all the circumſtances of the aſſaſſination muſt have aggravated the guilt, and encreaſed the horror of it, in the minds of the people. Yet no tumult enſued in any part of the kingdom; no man ſought to take vengeance on any of the murderers, or even to bring them to juſtice! They paſſed the night in the country, and ſoon after departed out of Kent, without endeavouring to ſee the young king or any of his miniſters, or daring to return to the court from whence they came; and went together to Knareſborough in Yorkſhire, where they ſtayed many months.

Henry, on hearing of the violent meaſures taken by Becket, had propoſed to have him arreſted, and had taken ſome ſteps towards the executing of that deſign: but the news of his murder threw him into great conſternation. He was filled with the moſt unaffected concern, and took no care to conceal the depth of his affliction.

affliction. He ſhut himſelf up from the light of day, and from all commerce with his ſervants; he even refuſed, during three days, all food and ſuſtenance: the courtiers apprehending that his grief would be attended with fatal effects, at laſt broke in upon his ſolitude, and by making uſe of every ſubject of conſolation, prevailed on him to accept of nouriſhment, and to employ himſelf in averting the conſequences he juſtly apprehended from the primate's murder.

It was of the greateſt importance that Henry ſhould convince the pope of his innocence, or at leaſt perſuade him, that he would reap greater advantages from his ſubmiſſion, than from proceeding to extremities. The archbiſhop of Rouen, the biſhops of Worceſter and Evreux, with five perſons of inferior rank, were inſtantly diſpatched to Rome, with orders to perform their journey with the utmoſt expedition. Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were ſo terrible in the remote countries of Europe, the pope was then ſo little revered in Italy, that his inveterate enemies ſurrounded the gates of Rome; yet, the ambaſſadors who carried to him the humble ſubmiſſion of the greateſt prince of the age, found the utmoſt difficulty to gain acceſs, and to throw themſelves at his feet. It was at laſt agreed, that Richard Barre, one of their number, ſhould leave the reſt behind, and go by himſelf, to prevent the fatal conſequences that might proceed from any farther delay, in giving ſatisfaction to his holineſs. On his admiſſion,

he found that Becket's partizans were daily ſtimulating Alexander to revenge; that the French king urged him to fulminate the moſt dreadful ſentence againſt England, and that the very mention of Henry's name, was received by the ſacred college with every expreſſion of horror and execration. Alexander even refuſed to admit Barre into his preſence; but at length, after long waiting, the abbot of Valaſſe, and the archdeacon of Liſieux were admitted; but on their firſt ſalutation of the pope, in the name of their maſter, they were ſtopped by the clamours of the whole aſſembly. Yet in the evening, they ſecretly obtained of his holineſs, a quiet and private hearing, in which, they endeavoured to excuſe the tranſport of paſſion, which, they confeſſed, had drawn from Henry ſome raſh words, which had given occaſion to the commiſſion of the murder, of which he was entirely innocent: but they found the greateſt difficulty in clearing him before a judge who was ſo exaſperated againſt him.

The Thurſday before Eaſter, on which day it was cuſtomary for the pope to excommunicate all notorious offenders, was now approaching; and Henry's miniſters were alarmed by the intelligence, that his holineſs would include their maſter in the cenſures he ſhould then fulminate; but they took ſuch meaſures to appeaſe the pontiff, that the anathemas were only levelled in general, againſt all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder. The terrible blow being thus artfully eluded,

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the cardinals Albert and Theodine were appointed legates to examine the cauſe, and were ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpoſe; and though Henry's foreign dominions were already laid under an interdict, by the archbiſhop of Sens, the pope's legate in France, the general opinion that Henry would eaſily vindicate himſelf, from any concern in the guilt, kept every body in ſuſpence, and prevented that ſentence from being attended with any ill conſequences.

Mean while, though the rage of the clergy was happily diverted from falling on the king, they were not idle in magnifying the ſanctity of Becket; in extolling the merits of his martyrdom, and in exalting him above all who, in ſeveral ages, had by their blood cemented the fabric of the temple. Innumerable panegyrics were made on his virtues, and a vaſt number of the moſt abſurd miracles were pretended to be wrought by his relics *. Two years after his death, he was canonized by pope Alexander; a ſolemn jubilee was eſtabliſhed for celebrating his merits; his body

* Gervas of Canterbury ſays, that two volumes of theſe miracles, when he wrote, were at Chriſtchurch in Canterbury, and that they equalled all thoſe of the goſpel; for not only diſeaſes of all kinds where healed by the invocation of his name, but members cut off and eyes pulled out, were reſtored to the bodies from which they had been ſeparated, and the dead were raiſed to life. To which Matthew Paris adds, that he alſo reſtored life to dead birds and other animals.

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was removed to a magnificent ſhrine; enriched with preſents from all parts of Chriſtendom; pilgrimages were performed to obtain his interceſſion with heaven; and it was computed that in one year, above a hundred thouſand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb.

Henry no ſooner found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, than he returned to England, and reſolved to undertake an expedition which he had long projected againſt Ireland, it order to preſent a new object to the attention of the public, and to ſhew himſelf to his ſubjects in a different light from that of a penitent, with all the majeſty of a prince, enlarging the bounds of his hereditary empire, by the acquiſition of a very great and ancient kingdom.

Henry had, in the beginning of his reign, pleaſed himſelf with the proſpect of attempting the ſubjection of Ireland; and for that purpoſe had recourſe to Rome, which aſſumed a right to diſpoſe of kingdoms and empires, and not foreſeeing the dangerous diſputes in which he would be engaged with that ſee, granted his requeſt. The Iriſh had, by miſſions from the Britons been converted to Chriſtanity; but following the doctrines of their firſt teachers, had never acknowledged any ſubjection to the ſee of Rome. Adrian III. who then filled the papal chair, in the year 1156, iſſued a bull in favour of Henry, in which, after mentioning the anxious care that

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prince had ſhewn, of enlarging the church of God on earth, he repreſents his deſign of ſubduing Ireland, as derived from the ſame pious motives, and gives him an entire right and authority over the iſland, commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their ſovereign, and inveſts with full power all ſuch godly inſtruments as he ſhould think proper to employ in an enterprize thus calculated for the glory of God, and the ſalvation of the ſouls of men. Though Henry was then armed with this authority, he delayed to put his deſign in execution, till he had the preſent favourable opportunity.

Some time before Dermot Macmorogh, king of Leinſter, had, by his tyranny, rendered himſelf extremely odious to his ſubjects, who gladly ſeized the firſt opportunity of throwing off the yoke, which was become extremely grievous to them. This prince had formed a deſign on Omach, the wife of Ororic king of Meath; and taking advantage of her huſband's abſence, who on viſiting a diſtant part of his dominions, had left her, as he thought, ſecure in an iſland, ſurrounded by a bog; he ſuddenly inveſted the place, and carried her off. Her huſband enraged, collected forces, and invading the dominions of Dermot, expelled him the kingdom. The exiled prince had recourſe to Henry, who was at this time in Guienne, and beſought his aſſiſtance in reſtoring him to his kingdom, offering, on that condition, to hold it in vaſſalage under the crown of England. Henry readily accepted the offer;

ſer; but being then embarraſſed, by the rebellion of his French ſubjects, and by his diſpute with the ſee of Rome, he gave Dermot no farther aſſiſtance than letters patent, by which all his ſubjects were permitted to aſſiſt the Iriſh prince in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot, ſupported by this authority, went to Briſtol, where he concluded a treaty with Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, who having impaired his fortune by expenſive pleaſures, was ready for any deſperate undertaking, and promiſed Dermot aſſiſtance, on condition of his marrying Eva, that prince's daughter, and being declared heir to all his dominions. While Strongbow was aſſembling his followers, Dermot went into Wales, where he engaged Robert Fitz-Stephens and Maurice Fitzgerald in his ſervice. Being now aſſured of ſuccour, he returned privately to Ireland, and reſided in the monaſtery of Fernes, where he prepared for the reception of his Engliſh allies.

Fitz-Stephens being firſt ready, landed in Ireland with a hundred and thirty knights, ſixty 'ſquires, and three hundred archers. This ſmall body, being brave men, and completely armed, a thing almoſt unknown in Ireland, filled the inhabitants with terror; and Fitz-Stephens being ſoon after joined by Maurice de Prendergaſt, with ten knights and ſixty archers, he was enabled to attempt the ſiege of Wexford, where, after gaining a battle, he took the town. Fitzgerald arrived ſoon after, with ten knights, thirty 'ſquires, and a hundred archers, and joining the former adven-

adventurers, formed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to reſiſt. Roderic, the chief king of the iſland, was defeated in battle; and the prince of Oſſory was not only obliged to ſubmit, but to give hoſtages for his peaceable behaviour.

Dermot not contented with being reſtored to his kingdom, now projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aſpired to the ſole dominion of the Iriſh. With this view he ſent to deſire Strongbow to perform his promiſe, mentioning the great advantages that might be obtained, by a ſmall reinforcement of warlike troops. On which that earl ſent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and ſeventy archers, who landing near Waterford, are ſaid to have defeated three thouſand Iriſh; and he himſelf, a few days after, bringing over above two hundred horſe, and a hundred archers, with which he joined the victorious Engliſh, they ſoon made themſelves maſters of Waterford, and took Dublin by aſſault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's ſon, who had been left as an hoſtage in his hands; and Richard Strongbow, marrying Eva, ſoon after became, by the death of Dermot, king of Leinſter, and prepared for the conqueſt of all Ireland, of which, beſides many ſmall tribes, there were five principal ſovereignties, Munſter, Leinſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught. Roderic, and the other Iriſh princes, being now alarmed at their mutual danger, united their forces, and beſieged Dublin with an army of 30,000 men: but Strongbow

bow attacking them in the night, at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, routed this numerous army, and purſued them with great ſlaughter.

Henry diſpleaſed at the manner in which his ſubjects went on, in conquering kingdoms for themſelves, ſent orders to recal the Engliſh, and prepared to attack Ireland in perſon: but the adventurers found means to appeaſe him, by their ſubmiſſions, and offers of holding ſuch parts of their conqueſts as he approved, under vaſſalage to his crown. That prince landed at the head of five hundred knights, beſides other ſoldiers, and received the ſubmiſſions of the prieſts and people, whom he treated with great kindneſs, and by all his actions, appeared rather the protector, than the enemy of Ireland. After viſiting ſeveral towns, he marched to Dublin, whoſe chief commerce depended upon England, and was then ſo great, that William of Newbury ſays, it rivalled that of London; and both there, and in other places, ſeveral princes rendered themſelves vaſſals and tributaries to him. He kept his Chriſtmas feſtival of the year 1171, in Dublin, the metropolis of his new acquired kingdom, and ſoon after he convened at Caſhel, by his royal mandate, a national ſynod, in which ſeveral canons were made and ratified by the king, for the eſtabliſhment of an entire conformity in divine worſhip, and all matters relating to it, between England and Ireland, particularly the payment of Peter-

pence;

pence; theſe being made the conditions of Adrian's bull.

Henry being now ſummoned to appear in Normandy, by the cardinals Albert and Theodine, who had been ſent thither to enquire into the affair of Becket's death, he left the earl of Pembroke poſſeſt of Leinſter, as a fief of the Engliſh crown, under homage to himſelf, and Hugh de Lacy, juſticiary of Ireland, which, in the king's abſence, was the ſame as lord lieutenant, or viceroy, and after other regulations, haſted to England, from whence he paſſed into Normandy. He had a conference with thoſe cardinals in a convent at Savigny, where their demands were ſo unreaſonable, that he broke off the negociation, and threatened to return to Ireland. They perceived that the ſeaſon was now paſt for taking advantage of that tragical incident; which, had it been purſued by interdicts and excommunications, would have thrown England into confuſion. But the time Henry had happily gained, had contributed to appeaſe the minds of the people; and as the clergy looked every day for an accommodation with the king, they had not oppoſed his partizans, who had induſtriouſly repreſented his entire innocence of the murder of the primate, and his ignorance of the deſigns of the aſſaſſins. The legates, therefore, found themſelves obliged to lower their terms; and Henry had the happineſs to conclude an accommodation with them. He made oath before the relics of the ſaints, that ſo far from commanding the death of the

archbiſhop, he was extremely grieved when he heard of it: but as the paſſion, which he had expreſſed on account of Becket's conduct, had probably occaſioned the murder, the following conditions were ſtipulated to atone for his offence. He promiſed to pardon all who had been baniſhed for adhering to the primate, and to reſtore their poſſeſſions and livings; that the ſee of Canterbury ſhould be reinſtated in all its antient poſſeſſions; that he ſhould give up ſuch cuſtoms or conſtitutions as had been introduced *in his time* againſt the church of England; that he ſhould not obſtruct appeals to the pope in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, but ſhould content himſelf with exacting ſufficient ſecurity from ſuch clergymen as left his dominions, to proſecute eccleſiaſtical cauſes, that they would attempt nothing againſt the rights of his crown; that he ſhould pay the Templars a ſum of money ſufficient for the ſubſiſtance of two hundred knights, during a year in the Holy-land; and that he ſhould himſelf take the croſs at the following Chriſtmas, for the term of three years, and the following ſummer go thither in perſon, unleſs the obligation was diſpenſed with by pope Alexander or his ſucceſſors. Upon ſigning theſe conceſſions, Henry received abſolution from the legates; and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland, made by pope Adrian.

Nothing more ſtrongly proves the great abilities of this prince, than his thus extricating himſelf from ſo difficult a ſituation, on ſuch eaſy terms. He had always inſiſted, with great juſtice,

juſtice, that the laws eſtabliſhed at Clarendon, were the ancient cuſtoms of the kingdom; and notwithſtanding this agreement, he was ſtill at liberty to maintain them, except in the ſingle article of appeals to the pope; but as he was permitted to demand reaſonable ſecurities from the parties, and might ſtretch his demands on this head, as far as he pleaſed, he had it in his power to prevent the pope from reaping any advantage by this ſeeming conceſſion. Thus the conſtitutions of Clarendon ſtill remained the law of the land. The only diſadvantage in this treaty was his obliging himſelf to go to the Holy-land, and even this he might hope to get rid of by a papal diſpenſation, grounded on excuſes, which time and various incidents might afford.

Henry thus freed from his dangerous conteſt, with the eccleſiaſtics and the ſee of Rome, ſeemed now to have reached the ſummit of human felicity. He had a numerous offſpring of ſons and daughters, that not only gave luſtre to his crown, but prevented the dangers of a diſputed ſucceſſion; and his precaution in eſtabliſhing the different branches of his family, appeared well calculated to prevent the brothers being filled with jealouſy of each other. Henry, his eldeſt ſon, he had appointed his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of England, the dutchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Tourain; territories that lay contiguous, and on that account, might eaſily be of mutual aſſiſtance, both againſt inteſtine commotions and foreign invaſions. Richard,

his ſecond ſon, was to have the dutchy of Guienne, and the county of Poictou; Geoffry, his third ſon, inherited in right of his wife, the dutchy of Britanny, and Ireland was appointed for the inheritance of John, his fourth ſon. He had alſo negociated, in favour of this laſt prince, a marriage with Adelais, the only daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy and Maurienne, who was to receive, as her dowry, conſiderable demeſnes in Dauphiny, Breſſe, Savoy, and Piedmont. But ſo unſubſtantial is human grandeur, that this very exaltation of his family, by exciting the envy of his neighbours, rendered theſe very ſons, whoſe fortune he had taken ſuch pains to eſtabliſh, the means of diſturbing his government, and imbittering his future life.

Young Henry, who began to riſe towards man's eſtate, aſpired to independance. He was brave, liberal, munificent, affable, and very ambitious; qualities which give a luſtre to youth, but unleſs tempered with diſcretion, are the fore-runners of the greateſt calamities. It is ſaid, that, at his coronation, his father, in order to give the greater dignity to the ceremony, officiated at table, and obſerved to his ſon, that never king was more royally ſerved. "It is nothing extraordinary, ſaid young "Henry, to one of the courtiers, for the ſon "of a count to ſerve the ſon of a king." This ſaying was conſidered as a ſymptom of his aſpiring temper; and his conduct ſoon after juſtified the obſervation.

Henry,

Henry, agreeably to the promiſe he had made to the king of France, permitted his ſon to be crowned a ſecond time by the archbiſhop of Rouen, when the princeſs Margaret, his ſpouſe, was crowned with him. As this was the firſt coronation of a ſon during the life of his father ſince the heptarchy, it was alſo the laſt performed in England.

Young Henry was afterwards, in 1173, allowed to pay a viſit to Lewis, his father-in-law, at Paris, who ſeized that opportunity of inſtilling into his mind thoſe ambitious views to which he was naturally too much inclined. The French king perſuaded his ſon-in-law, that by this ceremony, he had acquired a title to ſovereignty, and that his father could not, without injuſtice, exclude him from the poſſeſſion of the whole, or at leaſt of part, of his dominions. Young Henry therefore, on his return, deſired the king to reſign to him, either the crown of England, or the dutchy of Normandy; and on his being refuſed, not only diſcovered great diſcontent, but ſpoke of his father in the moſt undutiful manner, and ſoon after retired to Paris, where he was protected by Lewis.

Henry, alarmed at this event, which ſhocked his natural affection, had the proſpect of dangerous intrigues, or even of a war, which, with whatever ſucceſs it was attended, muſt be extremely diſagreeable to him. At the ſame time he was informed of new misfortunes, which muſt alſo have deeply affected him. Queen Eleanor, who had diſguſted Lewis, her

firſt huſband, and raiſed his jealouſy, was, in her turn, jealous of Henry, and communicating her diſcontent to her two younger ſons, Geoffry and Richard, perſuaded them, that they were alſo intitled to the preſent poſſeſſion of the territories aſſigned to them; ſhe alſo prevailed on them to fly ſecretly to the court of France, and had even put on man's clothes, in order to eſcape to the ſame court, when ſhe was ſeized by her huſband's orders, and confined. Thus Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment, the beſt and moſt indulgent of parents, at war with his own children; three boys, ſcarcely arrived at the age of puberty, requiring a great monarch in the full vigour of life, and in the height of his reputation, to quit the throne, and place them on it; and at the ſame time, ſeveral princes that were not aſhamed to ſupport them in their abſurd and unnatural pretenſions.

In this diſagreeable ſituation, Henry, though ſenſible of the danger attending the interpoſition of the eccleſiaſtical authority in temporal diſputes, applied to the pope to excommunicate his enemies, and thus to reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found the greateſt reluctance to oppoſe by force of arms. Alexander iſſued the bulls required. But Henry ſoon found that the clergy were very negligent in ſupporting a ſentence, that was not in the leaſt calculated to promote the intereſt of their order. The king was therefore obliged to have recourſe to arms, and to enliſt

ſuch

ſuch auxiliaries, as are ſeldom employed by ſo wiſe and juſt a prince.

From the looſe government which prevailed in many parts of Europe, a tribe of banditti had ariſen, which every where diſturbed the public peace, pillaged countries, and braved both the efforts of the civil magiſtrate, and the excommunications of the church. The peaceable and induſtrious inhabitants, reduced to poverty by their ravages, were frequently obliged to betake themſelves for ſubſiſtence, to the ſame diſorderly courſe of life; and thus a continual inteſtine war, equally pernicious to induſtry and the execution of juſtice, was carried on in the bowels of ſeveral kingdoms. Theſe deſperate ruffians were uſually called Brabanters, from their coming from Brabant. They formed a kind of ſociety among themſelves, and ſet the reſt of mankind at defiance. Yet the greateſt monarchs were not aſhamed to have recourſe to their aſſiſtance, and their being inured to war and depradation, giving them experience and courage, they generally compoſed the moſt formidable part of thoſe armies which decided the political quarrels of princes. Some of theſe were enliſted among the forces levied by the enemies of Henry; but the great treaſures that prince had amaſſed, enabled him to enliſt more numerous troops of them in his ſervice; and, indeed, his ſituation rendered their aſſiſtance abſolutely neceſſary. Henry's licentious barons, diſguſted with a vigilant government, were pleaſed with the thought of being ruled

by

by young princes, ignorant of public affairs, remiſs in their conduct, and profuſe in their grants; and dreaded no danger in adhering to thoſe, whom they knew muſt ſome time become their ſovereigns. Thus many of the Norman nobility deſerted to young Henry, while the barons of Britanny and Gaſcony appeared equally diſpoſed to join with Geoffry and Richard; even among the Engliſh, the earls of Cheſter and Leiceſter openly declared againſt the king, who propoſed to reſiſt his enemies with twenty thouſand Brabanters, joined to ſome troops which he brought over from Ireland, and thoſe of a few barons on whoſe fidelity he could depend.

Lewis, on this occaſion, ſummoned an aſſembly of the chief vaſſals of his crown to meet at Paris, and engaged them by oath to adhere to young Henry's cauſe. In return, that prince ſwore never to deſert his French allies; and having cauſed a new great ſeal to be made, laviſhly diſtributed among them conſiderable parts of thoſe territories which he propoſed to conquer from his father. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Blois and Eu, jealous of Henry's power, and allured by the proſpect of the advantages they might obtain from the young and giddy prince, declared openly in his favour. William, king of Scotland, entered into the ſame confederacy, and a plan was formed for a general invaſion of the different parts of the king's extenſive dominions.

Hoſtilities were begun by the counts of Flanders and Bologne, on the frontiers of Normandy,

mandy, by their laying ſiege to Aumale, which that count delivered into their hands; for ſurrendering himſelf priſoner, he, under the pretence of paying his ranſom, opened the gates of that town, and of all his other fortreſſes. The counts of Flanders and Bologne then took Drincourt, but the latter receiving a wound in the knee by an arrow from a croſs-bow, which proved mortal, the earl of Flanders accuſed himſelf with loud lamentions, of having drawn this judgment of God on his brother and himſelf, by making war on a prince who was his near kinſman; who had conferred on him many benefits, and had never injured him, merely to ſupport the quarrel of a moſt unnatural ſon; and inſtantly retired out of Normandy.

About the ſame time the king of France, with an army of ſeven thouſand knights, with their followers on horſe-back, and a proportionable number of infantry, taking prince Henry with him, laid ſiege to Verneuil, which was bravely defended by Hugh de Lacy, and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors. After the ſiege had continued a month, the garriſon being in want of proviſions, were obliged to capitulate; and engaged, if they were not relieved in three days, to ſurrender the town, and retire into the citadel. Henry appeared with his army on the laſt of theſe days, upon the heights above Verneuil. Lewis, dreading an attack, ſent to the Engliſh camp the archbiſhop of Sens and the count of Blois, to deſire, that a conference might be held the next day,

day, in order to terminate the difference between Henry and his ſons; and by that means eſtabliſh a general peace. Henry, earneſtly deſiring this accommodation, gave his conſent, though from the ardour of his troops he had reaſon to expect a victory. But that morning Lewis obliged the garriſon to ſurrender, according to the capitulation; then ſet fire to the place, and began to retire with his army. Henry, provoked at this artifice, purſued, and attacked the rear, put them to the rout, and took many priſoners. The time for which the French army had agreed to ſerve, being now expired, the men diſperſed into their ſeveral provinces; on which Henry had liberty to make head againſt his other enemies.

The earl of Cheſter and Ralph de Fougeres, had engaged the nobles of Britanny to take arms; but their progreſs was checked by a body of Brabanters, which Henry had ſent againſt them, after Lewis's retreat. The two armies engaged near Dol, where the rebels were defeated, fifteen hundred killed on the ſpot, and the earls of Cheſter and Fougeres obliged to take ſhelter in the town of Dol. Henry made haſte to beſiege that place, and carried on the attack with ſuch ardour, that the governor and garriſon were ſoon obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. By this happy ſucceſs, the rebellion in Britanny was entirely quelled; and Henry, thus ſucceſsful in all quarters, willingly conſented to a conference with Lewis, in hopes that his enemies, finding all their efforts entirely fruſtrated, would

would agree on ſome moderate and reaſonable conditions, to put an end to their hoſtilities.

The two kings met between Giſors and Trie, when Henry had the mortification to ſee his three ſons in the company of his mortal enemy. As Lewis's only pretence for making war, was in ſupport of their claims, their father made them ſuch offers, as children might be aſhamed to inſiſt on, and which nothing could extort from him but his parental affection. He required the ſovereign authority in all his dominions; but offered young Henry half the revenues of England, with ſome places of ſurety there; or if he rather choſe to live in Normandy, half the revenues of that dutchy, with all thoſe of Anjou. He made to Richard a like offer in Guienne; he propoſed to reſign Britanny to Geoffry; and if theſe were not eſteemed ſufficient, he agreed to add whatever the pope's legates, who were preſent, ſhould require. The earl of Leiceſter, who was preſent, either from the heat of his temper, or with a view to break off a conference that ought to fill the allies with confuſion, vented the moſt bitter reproaches againſt Henry, and even put his hand to his ſword, as if he intended to attempt his life. This threw the whole company into confuſion, and put an end to the treaty.

Henry's enemies now fixed their principal hopes on the ſtate of affairs in England, where his authority was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Prince Henry had agreed to reſign Kent, with Dover, and all its other fortreſſes,

to

to the count of Flanders: yet the Engliſh nobility were ſo wholly deſtitute of public ſpirit, and many of them ſo wholly bent on aggrandizing their own families, that notwithſtanding this pernicious conceſſion, that would probably have produced the ruin of the kingdom, the majority of them had conſpired to make an inſurrection, in order to ſupport their prince's pretenſions. Henry's principal reſource lay in the clergy, with whom he now perfectly agreed; though he had reſigned none of the eſſential rights of his crown, and ſtill maintained the ſame prudent jealouſy of the court of Rome; admitted no legate into England, without his ſwearing to make no attempt on the royal authority, and had even obliged the monks of Canterbury, who, on the vacancy made by the death of Becket, pretended to a free election, to chuſe Roger, prior of Dover, in the room of that turbulent prelate.

The king of Scotland made an irruption into Northumberland, and committed dreadful devaſtations; but being oppoſed by Richard de Lacy, whom Henry had left guardian of the kingdom, he retreated into his own country, and agreed to a ceſſation of arms. By this truce, Lacy was enabled to march ſouthward with his army, in order to oppoſe the earl of Leiceſter, who, at the head of a great body of Flemings, had landed in Suffolk. The Flemings having been joined by Hugh Bigot, made themſelves maſters of his caſtle of Framingham, and marching into the heart of the kingdom, where they hoped to be ſupported by

by the vaſſals of the earl of Leiceſter, they were met by Lucy, who, with Humphry Bohun, the conſtable, and the earls of Cornwall, Glouceſter and Arundel, had advanced to Farnham, with a like numerous army to oppoſe them. The Flemings, who were moſtly weavers and artificers, were inſtantly routed, ten thouſand of them were ſlain, the earl of Leiceſter taken priſoner, and the reſt of the invaders were glad to be allowed to retire in ſafety into their own country.

The malecontents were not diſcouraged by this defeat; for being ſupported by the alliance of ſo many foreign princes, and encouraged by the king's own ſons, they reſolved to perſevere. The earl of Ferrers, Roger de Moubray, Richard de Moreville, with many friends of the earls of Cheſter and Leiceſter, roſe in arms: the fidelity of the earls of Glouceſter and Clare was ſuſpected; and Lucy, though vigorouſly ſupported by Geoffry, biſhop of Lincoln, the king's natural ſon by the fair Roſamond, found it difficult to defend himſelf on all ſides, from ſo many open and concealed enemies. To encreaſe his perplexity, the king of Scotland, on the expiration of the truce, invaded the northern provinces with an army of eighty thouſand men; which, though moſt of them were undiſciplined, and more fit for committing devaſtations, than for executing any great enterprize, the preſent factious ſtate of the kingdom, rendered them extremely dangerous.

Henry, who had defeated the deſigns of his enemies in France, and put his frontiers in a poſture of defence, landed at Southampton in 1174, and immediately haſted to Canterbury, in order to make an atonement for his offences at Becket's tomb. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the tower of Canterbury cathedral, at the diſtance of three miles, he diſmounted, and walked thither barefoot, over a road that was full of rough and ſharp ſtones, which ſo wounded his feet, that, in many places, they were ſtained with his blood. When he got to the tomb, he threw himſelf proſtrate before it, and remained ſome time in fervent prayer; during which, the biſhop of London, in his name, declared to the people, that he had neither commanded nor adviſed, nor by any artifice contrived, the death of Becket; for the truth of which he appealed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the teſtimony of God. Not content with this, he ſubmitted to a penance ſtill more ſingular and humbling. He aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, ordered a ſcourge of diſcipline to be put into the hands of each, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the laſhes, which theſe, and alſo ſeveral biſhops and abbots who were preſent, inflicted on him. This ſharp penance being over, he returned to his prayers before the tomb, which he continued all that day, and all the next night; not even ſuffering a carpet to be ſpread under him, but kneeling on the hard pavement. Early in the morning he went round all the altars of the church, and paid his devotions

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S. Wale del. — Grignion sc.

King Henry II doing Penance at the Tomb of Thomas a Becket.

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votions to the ſaints interred there; then returned to Becket's tomb, where he ſtayed till the hour when maſs was ſaid in the church, at which he aſſiſted.

During all this time he had taken no kind of food, and except when he gave his naked back to be whipped, was clad in ſackcloth. Before his departure, he aſſigned a revenue of 40l. a year, to keep lights always burning about Becket's tomb. The next evening he reached London, where he found it neceſſary to be let blood, and to reſt ſome days.

Henry had hardly recovered from a fever, brought upon him by this penance, when his ſleep was diſturbed in the middle of the night, by the importunity of a page, who inſiſted upon being admitted to his preſence in that unſeaſonable hour. Being therefore introduced to his bed-ſide by the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, he told him he was ſent with good tidings from Ranulph de Glanville. The king kindly enquired about his maſter's health. He is well, anſwered the page, and holds your enemy, the king of Scotland, a captive in bonds at Richmond caſtle, in Yorkſhire. Henry aſtoniſhed, ordered him to repeat what he had ſaid. He did ſo; after which the king aſked him, whether he had brought him a letter, upon which he produced one, which contained the particulars of this great event. The king had no ſooner read it, than leaping out of his bed, and ſhedding tears of joy and gratitude, he, with his eyes and hands raiſed to heaven, gave thanks to God. Then ſent

for all his friends who were near enough to be called, that they might partake of the pleaſure he felt from this very unexpected and moſt happy news.

The particulars of the letter were theſe. The king of Scotland blocking up the caſtle of Alnwick with his regular forces, ſent all his irregulars to ravage the country. Theſe devaſtations were, for ſome time, unreſiſted, the Engliſh army being unable to keep the field. The king of Scotland, thinking that no reinforcements could be brought to their aid without his notice, ſuffered great detachments, even of his regular troops to ravage the country. One of theſe, under the command of Duncan, earl of Fife, entered Warkworth, which they burned to the ground, and maſſacreed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children. This raiſed the higheſt reſentment in the people of all the northern countries, againſt William the Lion, king of Sotland, who ſeemed rather to encourage, than reſtrain theſe exceſſes of barbarous cruelty. The Yorkſhire barons aſſembled under Ranulph de Glanville, the ſheriff of that county, forming a body of horſe, in which were about four hundred knights, and after a long and hard march, entered Newcaſtle on the eleventh of July 1174. They there learned in what manner the enemy's forces were ſcattered; which giving them a reaſonable hope of finding the king weakly guarded, they reſolved to ſet out early the next morning, to ſurprize that part of the army which lay before Alnwick caſtle. They began

gan their march at break of day. As they proceeded, ſo thick a fog aroſe, that they could hardly ſee their way; upon which ſome adviſed their returning back to Newcaſtle; but Bernard de Baliol, one of the principal barons, declaring, that rather than ſtain his character with the infamy of ſuch a retreat, he would go forwards alone; they all reſolved to proceed. While they were advancing in darkneſs, the miſt, which had covered and concealed their march, ſuddenly diſperſing, they had a near view of Alnwick caſtle, and ſoon after ſaw the Scotch king amidſt a troop of between ſixty and ſeventy horſemen, diverting himſelf with the exerciſes of chivalry in an open plain. He at firſt took them for the detachment commanded by Duncan, earl of Fife, returning from Warkworth; but on their nearer approach, diſcovering by their banners that they were Engliſh, he was amazed, yet not daunted; for, ſuppoſing that ſome bands of his forces which were on every ſide ſcouring the country, would come to his aid, or perhaps from the mere impulſe of a raſh unthinking courage, he fiercely ſhook his ſpear, and ſaying to his men, that *now it would be ſeen who was a good knight*; led them immediately to attack the enemy, and charged foremoſt himſelf: but his horſe being killed under him in the firſt ſhock, he was taken priſoner, and with him moſt of his troop. Some nobles, who were not far diſtant, and were not engaged in the action, hearing what had happened, haſted to throw themſelves into the hands of the Engliſh, that they might

be partakers in the calamity of their ſovereign. The victorious party, without encountering any other detachment of the enemy, returned that evening to Newcaſtle, and the next day they removed the king of Scotland to the caſtle of Richmond. All the reſt of his vaſt army, on the firſt account they received of his misfortune, retired precipitately into Scotland.

Orders had been given, while the king was performing his pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, for aſſembling an army in the neighbourhood of London, and by the eighteenth of July, he received the news of the king of Scotland's captivity, when, loſing no time in uſeleſs rejoicings, he advanced at their head, and took Huntingdon caſtle. While he lay before that place, there came to him his ſon Geoffry, biſhop of Lincoln, bringing under his own banner a hundred and forty knights, with many more men at arms well mounted. Henry received him with great joy, and ſaid, in the hearing of a great number of perſons who were preſent at their meeting, *that his other ſons, by their conduct, had proved themſelves baſtards, but this alone had ſhewn himſelf to be really his true and legitimate ſon.*

This deciſive victory ſunk the ſpirits of the Engliſh rebels. The biſhop of Durham, who was preparing to revolt, made his ſubmiſſions. Hugh Bigot, though he had received a ſtrong reinforcement into the caſtles of Framlingham and Bungey, in Suffolk, was terrified at the approach of Henry, ſurrendered thoſe caſtles, and threw himſelf on the king's mercy; no better

better reſource was left to the earl of Ferrers and Roger de Mowbray; and the inferior rebels imitating their example, England was in a few weeks reſtored to tranquility.

On the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in Suffolk, Henry went to his royal caſtle at Northampton, where the captive king of Scotland was brought to him from Yorkſhire, with his feet tied, like thoſe of a felon under his horſe's belly. His having, without any declaration of war, or any act of hoſtility committed by the Engliſh, invaded their borders, and let looſe the utmoſt fury of rapine and murder upon the innocent people, made them conſider and treat him not as a captive king, but as a robber and murderer apprehended by juſtice. How he was received by Henry, is not mentioned by the hiſtorians of thoſe times: but he was cloſely confined, which reaſons of ſtate rendered neceſſary; and we may preſume, that he was not uſed ill in his priſon, as it does not appear, that after his confinement he made any complaints.

In the mean while prince Henry, who was ready to embark at Gravelines with the earl of Flanders and a very conſiderable army, no ſooner heard that his partizans in England were ſubdued, than he abandoned all thoughts of going thither, and joined the camp of Lewis, who in the king's abſence had made an irruption into Normandy, and laid ſiege to Rouen. Almoſt all the Norman barons, and the military tenants who held immediately of the king, had thrown themſelves into that city, upon the

firſt

firſt motions of the French to attack it, with a firm reſolution to maintain it againſt them to the utmoſt extremity: nor did the citizens, who were numerous, and well trained to arms, ſhew themſelves leſs determined to ſupport their ſovereign's cauſe. After the junction of the Flemiſh troops with the French, which formed a greater army than Europe had ſeen ſince the laſt cruſade, they propoſed to take the town, which they could only attack on one quarter, by wearying out the beſieged with continual toil: for this purpoſe, they formed their forces into three diviſions, which, by turns, relieved each other every eight hours, ſo that the attacks were inceſſant, and the battering engines employed day and night without intermiſſion. The citizens, as they had only one part of the city to defend, procured for themſelves the ſame intervals of repoſe, by a like diviſion of their forces, and thus fruſtrated all the attempts of the enemy, from the twenty-firſt of July to the tenth of Auguſt, which being St. Lawrence's day, Lewis, who began to deſpair of ſucceſs by open force, ſtrove to gain the town by a ſtratagem, and the evening before proclaimed through his camp a ceſſation of arms, under the pretence of celebrating the feſtival of that ſaint. The citizens followed the example: the youths and virgins ſung and danced, and the men at arms iſſuing from the ſouthern gate of the city, diverted themſelves with tilting on the banks of the Seine, in ſight of the French, who beheld them from their poſts on the other ſide of the river. Happily ſome prieſts went

up

up into the ſteeple of the church, where the alarm-bell hung, and ſoon obſerving the French camp in motion, immediately rang the bell; at the ſound of which all the citizens haſtily ſnatching their arms, ran to the walls, and the horſemen returning with full ſpeed into the town, reſumed their poſts. A few moments delay would probably have been fatal; for the enemy's troops, without ſound of trumpet, had already paſſed the ditch, and part of them had mounted by their ſcaling ladders, to the top of the wall; but at that very inſtant, the brave citizens ruſhed upon them, and fighting hand to hand, killed, or threw down headlong into the ditch, thoſe who firſt gained the rampart: yet more continually mounting, a bloody conflict enſued, till night forced the aſſailants to retire with conſiderable loſs.

King Henry had in the mean time left England with his Brabanters, and a thouſand Welch, and the day after the above attempt, entered Rouen at the head of his army in great military pomp, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people, and the triumphant ſhouts of the brave ſoldiers. His ſudden arrival, before the enemy had received any intelligence of his landing in Normandy, with the ill ſucceſs of their late attempt, aſtoniſhed them, and ſunk their courage. Henry, full of confidence in the bravery of his troops, commanded the gate next to the enemy's camp, which the citizens had walled up, to be opened, and ſo much of the ditch on that ſide to be filled up and levelled, as that his cavalry might paſs over it two hundred

hundred in front. Mean while he ſent out his Welch foot before day-break into a foreſt, where, under cover of the woods, they cut off the convoys that were coming to the French camp with wine and proviſions, which ſoon they obliged the French to raiſe the ſiege.

All the confederates who had been the incendiaries of the war, now deſired its concluſion; every enterprize they had formed with confident hopes of ſucceſs, from their great ſuperiority of ſtrength, having been ſtrangely defeated by ſuch a ſeries of accidents in Henry's favour, that the immediate hand of God ſeemed to appear in ſupporting and maintaining his cauſe. The only doubt was, whether Henry would conſent to a peace, when his revenge and his glory ſeemed equally to demand the continuance of the war againſt enemies diſappointed in all their undertakings. But no advantage which he could gain over them appeared of ſuch importance to the happineſs of his life, or the welfare of his realm, as recovering his children out of their hands, and reclaiming them from the errors into which their inexperienced youth had drawn them, by having them again under his tuition. Lewis having demanded a conference, Henry appeared at it, with the moſt moderate and pacific diſpoſition. A truce was agreed to, and afterwards continued; and in the mean time Henry was permitted to make war on his ſon Richard, who having gained the poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles in Pictou, ſingly refuſed to accept the propoſed conditions. None of the other confederates

rates would now aſſiſt him, ſo that helpleſs, and flying with a few of his barons from one retreat to another, as Henry approached with his army, he was ſoon conſtrained, notwithſtanding the ſtubborn pride of his heart, to ſubmit without reſerve to the king's mercy. On the twenty-firſt of September he threw himſelf weeping at the feet of his father, and implored his forgiveneſs. Henry raiſed him from the earth, and took him to his boſom, with the kindeſt marks of paternal tenderneſs and affection. They went together to the place appointed for another conference with the king of France, at which were likewiſe preſent the two other brothers, Henry and Geoffry Plantagenet, and all the greater vaſſals of the French crown, except the earl of Flanders. Henry now granted his ſons leſs advantageous terms than he had formerly offered. The moſt material were, very conſiderable penſions which he ſtipulated to pay them, and ſome caſtles which he granted them for their reſidence, with an indemnity for all their adherents, who were reſtored to their honours and eſtates.

Of all thoſe who had embraced the cauſe of the young princes, the only conſiderable loſer was William, king of Scotland. Henry reſtored to liberty, without any ranſom, to about nine hundred knights, whom he had taken priſoners; but William paid for his liberty, the ancient independency of his crown. He agreed to do homage to Henry for Scotland, and all his other poſſeſſions; that his barons and nobility ſhould do the ſame; that the biſhops

ſhops ſhould take an oath of fealty; that both ſhould ſwear to adhere to the king of England againſt their native prince, if the latter ſhould break his engagements; and that the fortreſſes of Edinburgh, Roxborough, Stirling, Jedborough, and Berwick, ſhould be delivered into Henry's hands till the performance of the articles. Accordingly William, after his being releaſed, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots, who did homage to Henry in York cathedral. He alſo engaged the king and ſtates of Scotland, to make a perpetual ceſſion of the fortreſſes of Roxborough and Berwick. Few princes were ever ſo happy, as to gain ſuch conſiderable advantages over their weaker neighbours with ſuch juſtice, as Henry gained againſt the king of Scots, whom he had taken priſoner, and who had wantonly engaged in an unjuſt war, in which all the neighbouring princes, and even his own children were, without provocation, combined againſt him.

Before Henry left Normandy, his eldeſt ſon ſtayed at Rouen, while he went into Anjou, in which time ſeveral meſſengers were ſent from Lewis, to perſuade the young prince not to venture to go into England with the king, his father, who, as ſoon as he ſhould have him in his power there, would confine him in priſon; and ſo much was he terrified, that when his father ſent orders to him to come to him at Caen, from whence they were to go and take ſhipping at Barfleur for England, he refuſed to obey. Henry, being informed of the reaſons which produced this reluctance, aſſured him by

by many gracious meſſages, that he had nothing to fear. Thus encouraged, he threw himſelf at his father's feet, in the preſence of many Engliſh and Norman nobles, and, with a great effuſion of tears, implored his forgiveneſs of all he had done to offend him, before the war, in the war, or after the war; and moſt earneſtly begged, that as his father and lord, he would receive from him homage, and an oath of allegiance; adding, that till he permitted him, as he had done his two brothers, at their humble requeſt, to give him theſe pledges of future loyalty, he ſhould never believe his indignation againſt him entirely removed. Henry, touched with this mark of his filial piety and contrition, conſented; upon which he did homage, and not only took the oath of allegiance, but voluntarily ſwore, that he would be guided in the whole ordering of his houſhold, and all his other affairs, by his father's advice; and as long as he lived, would do no harm to thoſe vaſſals who had ſerved his father in this war, on account of that ſervice; but would honour and promote them as men who had been faithful, both to that king and to him.

This and ſome other affairs being ended, they went to Barfleur, and embarking there, ſailed to Portſmouth, where, to the inexpreſſible joy of all Henry's good ſubjects, they landed together on the ninth of May 1175, and for ſome time afterwards dined together every day, and lay every night in the ſame bed.

Thus, ſays lord Lyttelton, ended this rebellion, the firſt and laſt ever raiſed in England, without ſome diſpute on the title of the king to the crown, ſome difference of religion, or the pretence of ſome grievance, injurious to particulars, or hurtful to the public. Yet, ill founded as it was, it ſhook the throne; but divine providence ſo aſſiſted the rightful cauſe of the king, that his enemies fell before him, almoſt without human means, and their malice only ſerved to make his virtues more conſpicuous, and his power more extenſive.

Henry now employed himſelf for ſeveral years in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in guarding againſt thoſe inconveniences which unavoidably aroſe from the paſt convulſions of the ſtate, or the political inſtitutions of the age.

He cauſed ſevere penalties to be enacted againſt murder, robbery, and coining, which were to be puniſhed by cutting off the right hand and right foot. The pecuniary commutation for crimes appears to have been entirely aboliſhed by the rigour of this ſtatute. Tho' the ſuperſtitious trials by ordeals, by fire and water, had been condemned by the church, they ſtill ſubſiſted. By one of the laws promoted by Henry, a perſon accuſed of murder or any heinous felony, by the oath of the legal knights of the county, ſhould, though acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the realm.

Notwithſtanding Henry was ſenſible of the great abſurdity of determing cauſes by combat, he did not venture to aboliſh it entirely: he, however, allowed either of the parties to demand

mand a trial by a jury of twelve freeholders. The latter rational method of trial had been fixed by the laws of Alfred; but from the barbarous and ſuperſtitious genius of the age, the trial by battle, had become a general method of deciding all important controverſies. It is ſurprizing, that this abſurd method of pretending to diſcover innocence and guilt, was never aboliſhed in England; and that we have an inſtance of it ſo late as in the reign of queen Elizabeth: but the inſtitution revived by this prince being more reaſonable, and conſiſtent with the laws of juſtice, gradually prevailed.

The diviſion of England into four circuits, and appointing itinerant juſtices to proceed through them, and decide the cauſes in the counties, was another important law revived by this prince, which directly tended to curb the oppreſſions of the barons, to protect the gentry and common people in their property, and to cauſe juſtice to be every where adminiſtered. As thoſe juſtices were either prelates or conſiderable noblemen, they, beſides the authority of the king's commiſſion, were able to give weight and credit to the laws by the dignity of their own character.

He not only revived a ſtatute of his grandfather, Henry the Firſt, which enacted, that if out of any wreck on his coaſts, one man had eſcaped alive, the whole cargo ſhould be ſaved for the benefit of the owners; but extended the humanity of this law, declaring, that if on the coaſt of the Engliſh ſea, or of Pictou, or the iſle of Oleron, or of Gaſcony,

any ſhip ſhould be diſtreſſed or endangered, and no man eſcape from thence alive, yet if any *beaſt* ſhould eſcape, or be found therein alive, the goods ſhould be reſtored to the owners. He alſo exerted himſelf in demoliſhing the fortified caſtles of the nobility, both in England, and in his foreign dominions. But leſt the kingdom ſhould be weakened by this demolition of the fortreſſes, he obliged all his ſubjects to defend themſelves and the realm: every man poſſeſſed of knights fees, was obliged to have for each fee a helmet, a coat of mail, a ſhield and a lance; every freeman who poſſeſſed goods to the value of ſixteen marks, was to be armed in the like manner; every one that poſſeſſed ten marks, was to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; all burgeſſes were to have a wambais, that is, a coat quilted with wool, tow, or the like, a cap of iron and a lance. The lance was then the chief weapon employed in battle; for it appears, that archery was not yet ſo common as it was afterwards.

Henry was again involved in new troubles by the turbulent diſpoſition of his ungrateful children. Prince Henry, notwithſtanding the ſeeming ſincerity of his repentance, and perfect ſubmiſſion to his father, at the time of his being reſtored to favour, became diſcontented, and demanded a preſent grant of the dutchy of Normandy, or ſome other dominion, where he might beſtow on the knights of his houſhold, whoſe good ſervices he wiſhed to reward, lands of his own, at his pleaſure: but his father not

not chuſing to render him independent, he left the court in diſguſt, and went into France, declaring, that he would go from thence to Jeruſalem. A negociation enſued, and his father offering him an encreaſe of his revenue, and to reward a hundred knights of his houſhold, it was accepted. After this accommodation, Geoffry, by his father's deſire, did homage to his brother for the dutchy of Britanny; but Richard, who was by, refuſed to comply with that demand, though it was ſupported by all the authority of his father, and afterwards defended himſelf againſt young Henry and Geoffry, who uniting their forces, made war on his territories. The king with much difficulty compoſed theſe differences; but immediately found his eldeſt ſon engaged in conſpiracies, and ready to appear in arms againſt him. In the midſt of theſe criminal deſigns, the young prince was ſeized with a fever at Martel, a caſtle near Turenne, and perceiving the approach of death, was ſtruck with remorſe for his undutiful behaviour. He then haſtily ſent a meſſage to his father, humbly confeſſing his fault, and earneſtly imploring him, as the laſt inſtance of paternal tenderneſs, to come and ſee his dying ſon. Henry, deeply affected, was willing to comply: but his friends repreſenting the danger of truſting his perſon to thoſe flagitious conſpirators who were about the ſick prince, he took from his finger a ring, well known to his ſon, and ſent it to him by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, as a token of his forgiveneſs. But ſoon after when he received

intelligence of young Henry's death, and proofs of the ſincerity of his repentance, this tender parent was ſo affected, that he fainted away three times, and when he came to himſelf, accuſed his own hard-heartedneſs in refuſing the dying requeſt of his ſon; and gave vent to his ſorrow in immoderate lamentations; forgetting all the offences he had committed againſt him, and dwelling on the thought, how much might have been hoped from his great endowments, if it had pleaſed God to have ſpared his life, and his active aſpiring mind, being reformed by repentance, had taken a right turn. This prince died on the eleventh of June, 1183, in the twenty-eight year of his age.

The king received no conſolation for his loſs, from the behaviour of his ſurviving children. Prince Henry having left no poſterity, Richard ſucceeded to his honours. The king intended that John, his third ſurviving ſon, ſhould inherit Aquitaine as his appanage; but Richard refuſed to deliver it up, and even made preparations for carrying on a war; both againſt his brother Geoffry and his father. Upon this Henry ſent for Eleanor, his queen, and ordered him to deliver up to her the dominion of that dutchy, with which he complied, and then returned to his father's court.

In 1185 Henry ſent his ſon John into Ireland, to govern that kingdom, with a fleet of ſixty ſhips, and a conſiderable body of horſe and foot. On that princes landing at Waterford, he was received by the archbiſhop of Dublin,

Dublin, and other Engliſh lords, who ſwore fealty to him, and ſoon after many chieftains of the Iriſh in thoſe parts, who had always lived quietly under the Engliſh government, from the time of their firſt ſubmitting themſelves to it, waited on him at Waterford, and congratulated him on his happy arrival among them, and giving him what they called *the kiſs of peace*. But he, and the young nobles who attended upon him, received them with deriſion, and ſome of them was ſo rude as to pull them by their beards, which were long and thick. Enraged at this inſult, they retired, and took refuge in the territories of three of the greateſt princes of the iſland, to whom they poured forth their complaints with a warm indignation againſt John, and his boyiſh courtiers. Upon this, inſtead of waiting on John, and ſwearing fealty to him, as they intended, they laid aſide their own quarrels, and reſolved to join in aſſerting the antient liberty, rights and honour of their country. Thus all the authority, which the courteſy and prudence of Henry had gained over the minds of the Iriſh, during his abode in their iſland, was loſt in a few days, by the levity and folly of John and his courtiers, and occaſioned a war in which John loſt almoſt his whole army, before the end of the year, when Henry receiving an account of the ſtate of affairs there, recalled him, and he returned to England.

The next year, Geoffry, who was, perhaps, the moſt vicious of all Henry's unhappy family, demanded Anjou, to be annexed to his domi-

dominions of Britanny; and on meeting with a refuſal, fled to the court of France, and under the pretence of a tournament held at Paris, concerted with the French king, the meaſures to be taken for extorting that demand from his father and brother, and is ſaid to have propoſed the invading of Normandy. Henry was, however, freed from this danger, by the death of his ſon, who is ſaid to have been thrown down in the above tournament, by the ſhock of the lances of the oppoſite body of knights, and trampled upon by their horſes. He ſeemed, however, to be recovered of the bruiſes, but while he was plotting with Philip, was ſeized with violent pains in his bowels, ſuppoſed to be the effect of ſome internal hurt; and a fever coming on, put an end to his life.

This prince was diſtinguiſhed from his two elder brothers, by his having a greater degree of cunning. In the warmth of youth, he diſſembled, he plotted, and deceived, like an old politician. He had an eloquent tongue, but it ſeldom ſpoke the real ſenſe of his heart. No fits of remorſe, no ſentiments of filial duty, or love, ever checked his ambition. He felt no gratitude for his father's goodneſs in pardoning his former rebellions, and even, on his death bed, expreſſed no ſorrow for his laſt intended treaſon. His father, therefore, who was informed of his guilt, ſhewed little concern for his loſs. His widow, ſoon after his deceaſe, was delivered of a ſon, who received

ceived the name of Arthur, and was inveſted with the dutchy of Britanny,

The rivalſhip between thoſe powerful princes ſeemed now to give way to the general zeal for the relief of the Holy-Land, and the expulſion of the Saracens, who, under Saladin, had taken Jeruſalem, and had reduced the Chriſtians to the greateſt diſtreſs. Both Henry and Philip impoſed a tax on their ſubjects, amounting to the tenth of all the moveable goods of ſuch as remained at home; but as moſt of the regular clergy were exempted from this burthen, the ſeculars aſpired to the ſame immunity, pretending that their duty obliged them to aſſiſt the cruſade, with their prayers alone; and it was not without difficulty, that they were obliged to deſiſt from an oppoſition, which, in them who had been the chief promoters of thoſe enterprizes, appeared with the worſt grace imaginable.

But before this cruſade was put in motion, Philip entered into a private confederacy with young Richard, and perſuaded him, that inſtead of ſeeking to ſupport and aggrandize the monarchy he was one day to inherit, he ought to endeavour to obtain preſent power and independance, by diſturbing and diſmembering it. Richard, to give a pretence for hoſtilities between the two kings, broke into the territories of Raymond count of Toulouſe, who immediately complained to the king of France, as his ſuperior lord. Philip complained of this to Henry; but was anſwered, that Richard had told the archbiſhop of Dublin, that this

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enterprize was undertaken by the approbation and authority of Philip himſelf. The king of France, inſtead of being covered with ſhame and confuſion at this detection, ſtill proſecuted his deſign by invading the provinces of Berri, and Auvergne, which Henry retaliated by making inroads on the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war deſtroyed the hopes of ſucceſs in the cruſade, it gave great ſcandal; on which the two kings held a conference at the accuſtomed place, between Trie and Giſors, in order to accommodate their differences; but ſeparated with greater animoſity than they met; and Philip, to ſhew that he renounced all deſire of accommodation, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences were held, to be cut down. But his own vaſſals refuſing to ſerve him in ſo baſe a cauſe, he was obliged to offer terms of peace to Henry. Theſe terms entirely opened his eyes, and fully convinced him of his ſon's perfidy, and his ſecret alliance with Philip, who required that Richard ſhould be crowned king of England, be inveſted in all his tranſmarine dominions, and immediately marry Alice, Philip's ſiſter, to whom he had been formerly contracted, and who had already been conducted into England. Henry had experienced ſuch fatal effects from the crowning of his eldeſt ſon, that he rejected theſe conditions; on which Richard, immediately revolted from him, did homage to the king of France, for the dominions his father held of that crown, and was inveſted

inveſted with them, as if he had already been the lawful proprieror.

Theſe encreaſing obſtacles to the cruſade diſpleaſing cardinal Albano the pope's legate, he excommunicated Richard, as the chief ſpring of diſcord; but this ſentence produced no effect; for the chief barons of Normandy, Anjou, Poictou, and Guienne, being attached to the young prince, declared for him, and ravaged ſuch of the territories as ſtill adhered to the king. Diſturbed by the daily revolts of his mutinous ſubjects, Henry engaged the cardinal Anagni, who had ſucceeded Albano in the legateſhip, to threaten Philip with laying an interdict on all his dominions; but that prince deſpiſing the menace, told Anagni, that the pope had no right to interpoſe in the temporal diſputes of princes; he even reproached him with partiality, and with receiving bribes from the king of England, while Richard ſtill more outrageous, attempted to draw his ſword on the legate, but was prevented by the company.

Henry was now obliged to engage in a war with France, and his eldeſt ſurviving ſon. Ferte-Barnard fell into the hands of the enemy: Nantz was taken by aſſault, and Henry, who had thrown himſelf into it, eſcaped with ſome difficulty: Amboiſe, Chaumont, and Chateau de Loire, on the appearance of Philip and Richard, opened their gates: Tours was inveſted; and the king, who had retired to Saumur, had reaſon to dread the moſt fatal conſequences from this war. The duke of Bur-

Burgundy, the count of Flanders, and the archbiſhop of Rheims now interpoſed their good offices; and Henry receiving intelligence of the taking of Tours, which made him fully ſenſible of the deſperate ſituation of his affairs, his ſpirit was ſo ſunk, that he ſubmitted to the ſhameful terms that were impoſed upon him. Theſe were, that Richard ſhould marry the princeſs Alice, and receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his ſubjects, both in England and on the continent; that Henry ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to the king of France, to defray the charges of the war; that his own barons ſhould engage to make him obſerve this treaty by force; and in caſe of his violating it, ſhould promiſe to join Philip and Richard againſt him; and that all who had entered into confederacy with Richard, ſhould be indemnified.

Henry, who in moſt treaties had been accuſtomed to give the law, had now the mortification of ſubmitting to the moſt diſadvantageous terms; but he had ſtill a greater affliction: on his requiring the liſt of the barons whom he was bound to pardon for their connections with Richard, he had the grief to find at their head, the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favourite; whoſe intereſt he had ever anxiouſly at heart, and who had, even, on account of his aſcendant over him, often excited the jealouſy of Richard. The more his heart was diſpoſed to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the barbarous return which his four ſons had ſucceſſively made to

his

his paternal care; and this finiſhing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his ſpirit, and threw him into a fever.

The day after the laſt conference, he was carried in a litter to the caſtle of Chinon, and there took to his bed. His natural ſon Geoffry had obtained his leave to be abſent when the treaty was ſigned, that he might not be a witneſs to his humiliation; but on being informed of his illneſs, he haſted to Chinon; and finding his father's illneſs ſo violent, that he could not ſit up in his bed, he raiſed his head, by ſupporting it upon his own boſom. Henry fetched a deep ſigh, and turning his languid eyes upon him, ſaid; "My deareſt ſon, as you "have, in all dangers of fortune, behaved "yourſelf moſt dutifully and affectionately to "me, doing all that the beſt of ſons could do, "ſo will I, if the mercy of God ſhall permit "me to recover from this ſickneſs, make ſuch "returns to you, as the beſt of father's can "make, and place you among the greateſt "and moſt powerful ſubjects in all my do-"minions. But if death ſhall prevent my "fulfilling this intention, may God, to whom "the recompence of all goodneſs belongs, re-"ward you for me." "I have no wiſh (re-"plied his ſon) but that you may recover and "may be happy:" After theſe words Geoffry roſe up, and unable to reſtrain his guſhing tears, left the room. Yet ſoon hearing that no hopes of life remained, he returned to perform the laſt duties to his father, who rouſed from a kind of trance by his lamentations,

opened his eyes, which had been for ſome time cloſed, and knowing him, endeavoured, with a faint voice, to expreſs a deſire that he ſhould obtain the biſhopric of Wincheſter or the archbiſhopric of York. Then taking a ring of great value from his finger, gave it to him with his laſt bleſſing, and ordered that another, which was kept in his treaſury, as his moſt precious jewel, ſhould be alſo delivered to him. After which he ſunk down, and in a ſhort time expired. The next day Richard came to ſee the dead body of his father, and on viewing it, was ſtruck with horror and remorſe; when the attendants obſerving, that at that very inſtant blood iſſued from the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe, he exclaimed, that he was his father's murderer, and expreſſed a deep, though too late concern, that his undutiful conduct, had brought his parent to an untimely grave.

Thus died Henry the ſecond, on the ſixth of July 1189, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, having no legitimate ſons, but the ungrateful rebels Richard and John, the latter of whom poſſeſſed no territory, though his father had propoſed to leave him king of Ireland, and from thence received the name of Lackland. Henry had three legitimate daughters; Matilda, married to Henry, duke of Saxony; Eleanor, married to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile; and Jane, married to William, king of Sicily.

"The perſon of Henry, ſays lord Lyttelton, was maſculine and robuſt, excelling rather in ſtrength

ſtrength of limbs and dignity of aſpect, than in delicate or exact proportions of beauty. Yet his features were good, and, when his mind was ſerene, his eyes had great ſweetneſs; but when angry, they ſeemed to ſparkle with fire. His paſſionate temper, which thus ſhewed itſelf in his countenance, was his greateſt imperfection: upon any ſudden provocation, he could not command the firſt emotions of his rage, though at other times, he poſſeſſed an extraordinary degree of prudence and judgment. Yet this infirmity never betrayed him into furious or cruel actions, but only broke out into words; nor did his anger laſt long; and when he was cool, he became gentle and humane. He was tenderly compaſſionate to all perſons in diſtreſs, and his good œconomy ſeemed chiefly employed in providing an ample fund for his charity and bounty. Beſides what he laid out in occaſional acts of munificence, ſome of which were extraordinary great, he aſſigned the tenth part of the proviſions of his houſhold, to be conſtantly given in daily alms to the poor.

His treaſures were ever open to all men of merit, but he was particularly liberal in his preſents to ſtrangers, who came to viſit his court, as many did from all the nations in Europe, drawn by his fame, which was every where high and illuſtrious. He did not ſuffer thoſe about him to confine to themſelves either his purſe or his ear. His affability extended to the meaneſt of his ſubjects, in ſo much, that his miniſters muſt have found it very difficult to

conceal from him any truth which it was of uſe for him to know. Yet his heart was ſhut againſt calumny, nor did any good ſervant, through the long courſe of his reign, ſuffer any loſs of favour or credit, by the ſecret whiſpers of malice, or the vain and groundleſs clamours of popular rumours.

He was ſo conſtant in his friendſhips, and choſe his miniſters with ſuch diſcretion, that not one of thoſe whom he principally truſted was ever diſgraced, except Becket, who rather quitted than loſt the place he had gained in his heart. Thoſe who are moſt ſteady in their attachments are generally moſt apt to retain their averſions; and thoſe whom this prince once hated, he could hardly be perſuaded to admit again to a ſhare of his favour. Yet with a generous clemency he pardoned rebellions and other offences, committed againſt himſelf. Some gentlemen of his court, being accuſed in his preſence of having, at the ſuggeſtion of the biſhop of Worceſter, talked of him indecently and to his diſhonour, they did not deny the words laid to their charge, but alledged, that they were ſpoken when they were diſordered with drinking. On this apology, he diſmiſſed them all without any puniſhment, and retained no unkindneſs towards them or the biſhop: an admirable proof of true magnanimity, and ſuch as is found in few princes; who are often more angry at any liberty taken with their perſons, than at an act of high treaſon againſt their crown!

Of

Of this prince's piety, Fitz-Stephen, a cotemporary writer, gives a remarkable inſtance. He tell us, that the king would ſometimes watch with the monks of Morton abbey, three nights before Eaſter: and that after the evening ſervice on Good-Friday, he was accuſtomed to ſpend the remainder of the evening till nine o'clock, when the ſervice of Eaſter-Eve begins, in walking, muffled up in a cowl, with only one companion, to viſit all the poor churches in the neighbourhood, and perform his devotions in them. The ſerious ſenſe of religion, which theſe practices ſeem to indicate, however tinctured with innocent ſuperſtition, deſerves great praiſe, particularly in a monarch, who with ſuch ſpirit, oppoſed the encroachments of the church on the temporal rights of the ſtate.

None in that age excelled him in politeneſs, or had a more agreeable and becoming manner of converſing. His wit was lively, but not ill-natured; it made him no enemies, and never let down the dignity of his character. He had a wonderful memory, and a great flow of natural eloquence, which he improved by a continual application to learning; conſtantly employing a great part of his leiſure in ſecret ſtudy, or in aſſemblies of churchmen, with whom he delighted to reaſon, and to hear their opinions on points of literature and ſcience.

He lived with his intimate friends in the moſt eaſy familiarity, particularly with Becket, to whoſe houſe and table he would frequently come uninvited and unexpected. After they

had finiſhed their ſerious affairs, they played together, ſays a writer of Becket's life, like two boys of the ſame age. The king's good humour ſeems, indeed, to have been ſometimes too playful in the eyes of the public. But the notions of decorum were not then carried ſo high as they have been ſince, nor could the military life, then led by our monarchs, be rendered conſiſtent with all that pride of royal ſtate, which the forms of a ſettled court are thought to require. Though Henry ſported with his nobility, it does not appear, that he ever contaminated himſelf with the low ſociety of buffoons, or any of thoſe who find acceſs to the leiſure hours of princes, by miniſtring to their vices, or ſoothing their follies.

His favourite diverſion was hunting; in which he followed the cuſtoms of his anceſtors, and more eſpecially of the Normans, who took a pride in this exerciſe, as indicating a manly ſpirit, and forming the body to the toils and hardſhips of war. When he was not reading or at council, he had always in his hand a ſword, a hunting ſpear, or a bow and arrows. The hunting ſpear was uſed againſt wild boars, which were then in our foreſts, and adding greatly to the danger, added alſo to the honour of this recreation. Henry roſe by break of day, purſued the chace till evening, with an unabated ardour; and when he came home, though all his ſervants were tired with following him, he would not ſit down, but was always on his feet, except at his meals, which he uſually made very ſhort. Even while he was conſulting

ing on buſineſs with his miniſters, he ſtood or walked. Thus he kept down a diſpoſition to corpulency, and preſerved the alacrity of youth to old age. From the continual habit of exerciſe, he was ſo indefatigable, that if occaſion required it, he would perform in one day, a journey of three or four to an ordinary traveller; by which expedition he often came unexpectedly upon his enemies, diſconcerted the meaſures that were taken againſt him, and cruſhed the firſt motions to rebellion or ſedition, even in the moſt diſtant parts of all the ſeveral ſtates that were under his government. The frequent progreſſes he made about England, were very beneficial to his people; the execution of the laws, the good order of cities, the improvement of agriculture, manufactures and trade, being thus under his immediate inſpection. He was the ſoul of his kingdom, pervading every part of it, and animating the whole with his active vivacity. Nor were his cares for the public interrupted by luxury, or the powers of his mind diſordered and enfeebled by exceſs. He was conſtantly ſober, and often abſtemious both in eating and drinking. His table was frugal, his diet plain, and in his dreſs he affected the utmoſt ſimplicity, diſliking all ornaments which might incumber him, and hinder his exerciſe, or ſhew an effeminate regard to his perſon. Yet this did not proceed from inattention to women. He was but too ſenſible of the power of their attractions, and too deſirous

ſirous to pleaſe them even to the end of his life.

His firſt miſtreſs was Roſamond, daughter of Walter de Clifford, baron of Herefordſhire, and the moſt celebrated beauty in England. Their intrigue muſt have begun in the year 1149, during the ſhort ſtay he made in the weſt, before he went to join the Scots at Carliſle, when he was but little more than ſixteen years old: for, from that time, he was never in England till the year 1153, and his younger ſon was almoſt twenty years old, when he was elected biſhop of Lincoln in 1173. The eldeſt muſt therefore have been born in 1150, unleſs we ſuppoſe that his mother followed her lover into France, of which there is not the leaſt intimation in any ancient author. At Henry's return into England in January 1153, he renewed his amour with her, and ſhe muſt have brought him Geoffry her ſecond ſon, during the courſe of that year. As he was then married, he might probably be afraid of Eleanor's jealouſy, and ſolicitous to hide his intrigue from her knowledge; which he might think ſtill more neceſſary when ſhe was with him in England, after he came to the crown. And this may have given riſe to the romantic tradition, mentioned by Brompton, of his having made a kind of labyrinth in his palace of Woodſtock, to conceal his miſtreſs from the ſight and vengeance of his queen. But the tale of her having been poiſoned in that palace by Eleanor, has no foundation. Before her death, ſhe retired to the nunnery of Godſtow, near

near Oxford, and there died. Henry beſtowed large revenues on the convent; in return for which he required, that lamps ſhould be kept perpetually burning about the remains of this lady, which were placed near the high altar, in a tomb covered with ſilk: but under the reign of his ſucceſſor, Hugh, biſhop of Lincoln, commanded them to be taken from thence, as being unworthy of ſo holy a place: upon which they were removed to the chapter-houſe of the nunnery, and there interred. There are ſeveral other inſtances of Henry's incontinence; but in his love for Roſamond, or any other lady, there was no other weakneſs, than what was inſeparable from the paſſion itſelf, irregularly indulged. He never ſacrificed to them one hour of buſineſs, or ſuffered them to meddle in the government of his kingdom. Nor was he laviſh in beſtowing either honours or riches on their relations or dependants. No worthleſs man ever roſe to power by their favour; no worthy man ever incurred diſgrace at court by their malice. Henry was, indeed, *too frequently* a lover; but he was *always* a king."

Miscellaneous Observations.

Mr Camden obſerves, that in this age, the uſe of ſilk was brought out of Greece into Sicily, and then into other parts of Europe. He alſo mentions a coſtly ſtuff, called in Latin aurifriſium, which in the reign of Henry II. was worn in England. The ſame king brought in the ſhort mantle, whence he was ſurnamed

court-

court-mantel. Yet long flowing gowns, after the fashion of the east, continued to be worn by the nobility and gentry.

As to the armour worn at this time, a cotemporary author gives a particular description of it, in an account of the manner in which the order of knighthood was conferred on the father of king Henry II. They put him on, says he, an incomparable habergeon, composed of double plates, or scollops of steel, which no arrow or lance could penetrate. They gave him cuishes, or boots of iron made equally strong. They put gilt spurs on his feet, and hung on his neck a shield or buckler, on which were represented lions of gold. On his head they placed a helmet, which glittered all over with precious stones, and was so well forged, that no sword could cleave or pierce it.

This armour was richer than that of ordinary knights, and of more excellent workmanship in the temper of the steel; but in other respects much the same. The habergeons, or coats of mails, were different from the cuirasses used in later times, being formed of double plates of iron, and covering the arms and shoulders of the knights, as well as their bodies. Under these they wore other coats of leather, or taffety, quilted with wool. The several parts of the outward armour were so artfully joined, that the whole man was defended by it from head to foot, and rendered almost invulnerable, except by contusions, or by the point of a lance or sword running into his eye, through the holes that were left for sight, in the

the vizor of the helmet; but if the horſe was killed or thrown down, or the rider was diſmounted, he could make but little reſiſtance, and was either taken priſoner, or ſlain on the ground with ſhort daggers, which were uſually worn by horſemen for that purpoſe.

Tournaments were prohibited by king Henry II. yet the exerciſes practiſed in them were kept up during his reign. On every Sunday in Lent, the ſons of the citizens of London ſallied forth in troops from the gates, mounted on war-horſes, and armed with ſhields and lances, or with javelins, the iron of which was taken off, in order to exerciſe themſelves in mock fights, and on thoſe occaſions, many young gentlemen of noble families, who had not yet been knighted, came to combat with them. On every holiday throughout the whole ſummer, it was uſual for the young citizens to go out into the fields, and practiſe archery, wreſtling, throwing of ſtones and miſſile weapons, with other martial ſports. And during the feſtival of Eaſter, they repreſented a kind of naval fight on the Thames.

Fitz-Stephen obſerves, that among the diverſions in time of peace, were foot-ball and cock-fighting; and in ſummer the young girls danced by moon-light to the muſic of the harp. In winter the young men entertained themſelves after dinner, upon all feſtival days, with bear-baiting, bull-baiting, and combats of dogs; or with ſliding or ſcating on the ice of a great pond which was contiguous to the northern wall of the city. But the chief amuſement

muſement in which the greater part of the citizens employed their leiſure, was hunting and hawking, which they had a right to do in Middleſex, Hertfordſhire, and Kent, as far as the river Cray, and in all the diſtrict called the Chiltern; and inſtead of our theatrical entertainments, they had repreſentations of the miracles performed by ſaints, and of the ſufferings of martyrs.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.